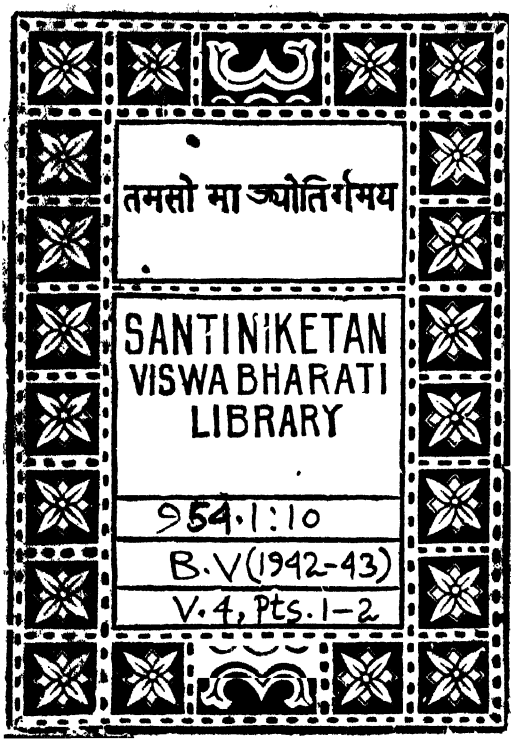

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BHĀRATĪYA VIDYĀ

Vol. IV, Part I November 1942

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BHĀRATĪYA VIDYĀ



Vol. IV, Part I - - - November 1942

HIEROGLYPHIC "HATTILI" AND PROTO-INDIC SCRIPTS

By

Shri S. ŚRIKAṆṬHA ŚĀSTRI, M.A.

I

BEDRICH HROZNY[1] claims to have found the clues to the Indic scripts through the hieroglyphic "Hittite" inscriptions and working back from the classical "hittite" *Nāsili* or *Nesumnili*, in his analysis of the languages of the cuneiform Hittite tablets, he finds the existence of the following languages.

(1) *hattitli*, langue des Proto-Hittites, d'origine non-indo-eropéenne ;

(2) *lûili* ; langue des Luites, d'origine indo-européenne ;

(3) *nâsili, nêsumnili*, langue des Hittes indo-européens ; ainsi appelée, du nom de la ville de *Nêsas*.

(4) *hurrili*, langue des Churrites, d'origine non-indo-européenne.

(5) *palâumnli*, langue des inhabitants de la ville de *Palâ*.[2]

---

[1] *O Nejstarsim Stahovani Narodu A O problemu civilisace proto-Indicke.* Prednaška. Praha 1939. German translation. *Die älteste Volkerwanderung und die proto-indische Zivilisation.* Ed. J. RYPKA. Studies, Oriental Institute. Prague 1939. *Le Flambau.* January 1940 ; *I. H. Q.* December, 1940.

[2] *Archiv Orientální.* VII. p. 156.

(6) *Mitanni* ou *Maiteni*, people d'origine indo-européenne, aryenne, plus exactement "indienne," concentré dans la Mésopotamie autour de la ville de *Vaššuggani*. (*Ar. Or.* I. p. 296).

HROZNY does not claim that there is any great correspondence between the Hieroglyphic-"Hittite" and Indus scripts because the signs for *mu, pa,* hand-signs, divinity-signs etc., so abundant in Hattili are not found in the Indic scripts. He tries to account for this by assuming that in the beginning of the third millennium B.C. the proto-Hindu Kushites severed their connection with the Hattili when the hieroglyphic-"Hittite" was not yet completely developed. "Only thus is the independent development of this writing in India is explicable." In view of the recent excavations at Harappa by M. S. VATS it is highly doubtful if such a late date for the migrations of the proto-Indic peoples into India can be accepted.[3] Further as I have shown by an analysis of the proto-Indic ceramics,[4] the evidence shows that migration of Harappa, Jhukar and Jhangar cultures started from the Indus valley towards the west, perhaps as early as C. 3000 B.C. Again HROZNY thinks that the Indus seals are of individuals and not amulets. But this is quite opposed to the evidence produced by the excavations at Harappa. Mr. VATS has pointed out that the miniature seals of the lowest levels have a very limited range of inscriptions, one legend on the obverse being repeated thirty-two times and that on the reverse nineteen times. Therefore it is quite clear that the legends cannot be personal names. I have shown that many of the motifs can be demonstrated to be of Atharvan origin,[5] the various spells and incantations of the Atharva Vēda used for consecrating the amulets corresponding to the proto-Indic seals.

HROZNY'S attempt at the decipherment of the Indic script from proto-"hittite" clues is open to the criticism that too many symbols are assigned the same sound-value, ten of *i*, thirteen for *ja*, five for *ku*, forty-five for *s°*, and nine for *ta*, four for *u* etc. But this at the outset may not be such a formidable objection if the modifications of a sign by strokes denote vowel-changes, since in his decipherment of the "Hittite" hieroglyphs, he has assigned as many as twelve or fifteen symbols for the same consonant. But a more serious objection may be raised on the ground that even when the Indic signs correspond closely or approximately to the "Hittite," he assigns different values to them. The assumption of independent development does not entirely explain the same long legends corresponding, as will be demonstrated below.

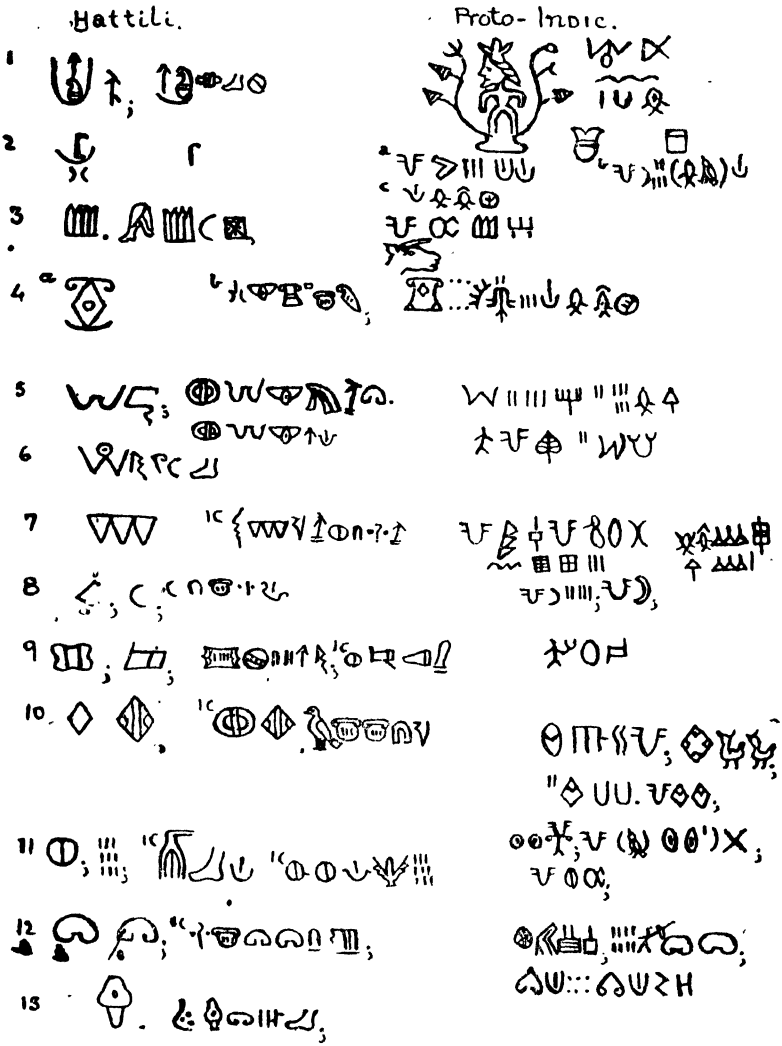
II

No. 1. The Hattili signs read according to HROZNY, "dedicated *-tr*"; "dedicated *-lata-u*", the same vase-like symbol with a deity in it and seven pig-tailed figures going in procession around it, may be taken to represent the

[3] M. S. VATS, *Further excavations at Harappa*.
[4] 'Proto-Indian Ceramics,' *I. H. Q.* XVI. 3. p. 511.
[5] 'Proto-Indic Religion,' *Q. J. M. S.* 1942.

symbol of a vegetation deity and hence the usual vase-like sign is not *e* as HROZNY assumes but the symbol of dedication of the amulets for provisions,

PLATE I



No. 2. A " deity " symbol, the curved stroke at the top sometimes independently represents the god-symbol in *hattili* inscriptions. But the corresponding Indic seals according to HROZNY should read (*a*) *na, -na -va -ta -du -e* ; (b) *na* (*kha*? *ku*?) *a-va* (or 5) *-nu -e* ; (c) seal ? *kha-ku -n*(*a*) ?. A

deity *Nu-na* figures in hattili inscriptions and can we jump to the conclusion that she is the goddess Nanā who is a lion-goddess figuring on the coins of Kaniṣka along with Śiva (Bhavēśa?), a form of Durgā?

No. 3. This sign is assigned the value *me* by HROZNY and the legend reads *ka -me -na -s* and the corresponding Indic legend probably is *Va-a -ma -sir*(?)- dedicated (*e*), (*Vāmēśvara*? Compare Hattili legend. No. 43 below; Vāmakēva who fought with Indra. *Bṛhaddēvata* III—1.).

No. 4. This sign containing the element *Ku* | *Gu* denotes offering and is followed (in *a*) by *-un du- ta- i*, (in *b*) *dieu dular* (?) *-pa- li*. The corresponding sign is also an offering vase below the "unicorn" and the legend: Seal (?) *ka-ku -pa* | *na -va-*? *-a -i -ya*(?). If so it is probably dedicated to the goddess Kubaba (Cybele). But HROZNY reads Seal -? *-sa -n -ta* -? *-ja* (dedicated to Santajas).

No. 5. This deity sign represents Santajas or sometimes Halba (deity of Aleppo?). The hattili legend reads *dieu Santa -du*? *-ta -ja -s*, and *dieu Santa-du -i* -? *-n*. The corresponding Indic legend (a) is "deity *-a -va* -? *-a*? *-nu*(? 6) *-ha -lu*" (from *r* to *l*.) and probably refers to Luhas; (b) *amu* (I or *aham*)- dedicate *-lu*?- to deity offerings of libations. (Compare the hand sign holding a cup in Carchemesh inscriptions),

No. 6. The sign of divinity and *-sa -ma -na -ta*.

No. 7. Hattili symbol for *me*. The Indic legend (b) *sa -khu -me -va -as*? on the obverse; *śi* | *lu -me* -1. on the reverse.

No. 8. Signs for *n*. *na -a -pa -va -n*; Indus (a) *va -a -na-* dedié; *Na-e* (dedicated).

No. 9. Symbols for *tu*; legend (a) *Tu -ru -me -ja -s*; (b) *Ic ha* (*u*) *-tur -la?ā*; Indus legend oblation and bandage or cloth (cp. Egyptian sign) offer to *Tur-a*(?)

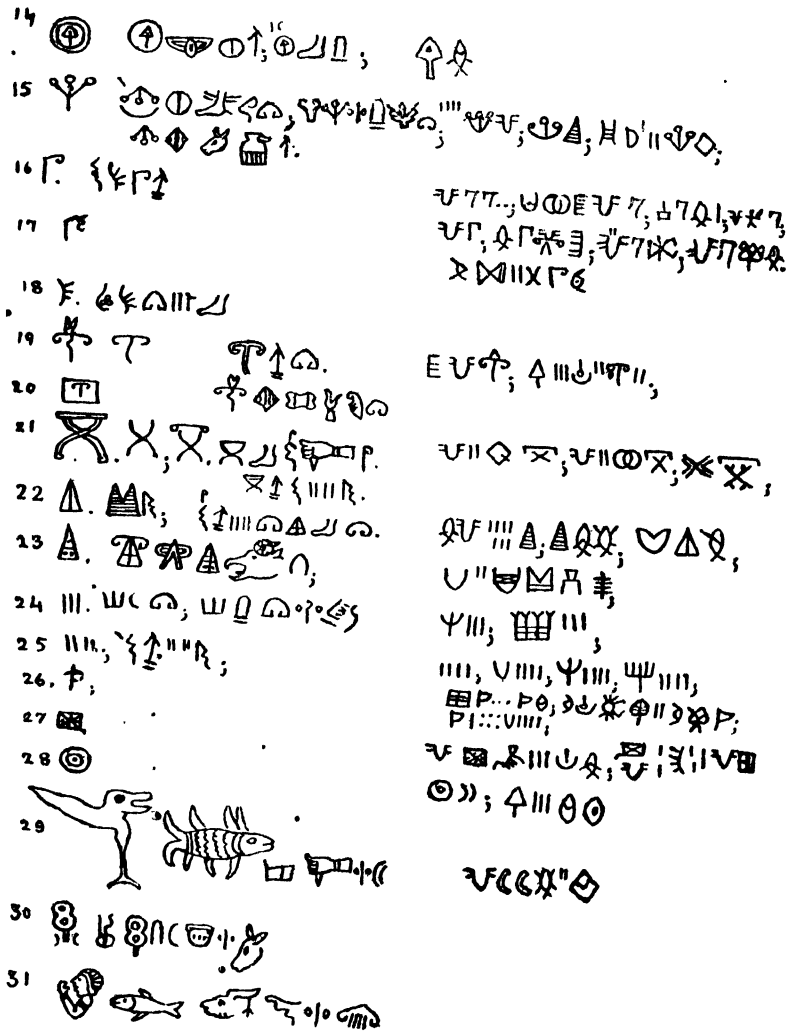
No. 10. *Ku* or *Gu*. *Ic deity Ku* -(hawk)[x] *-pa -pa -sa -e*. The corresponding Indic sign is very interesting. Legend (a) *Ku -ver -a -e* (*dedié*); dedicated to Kuvēra; (b) ku -pa -pa (? bird signs). (c) deity *Gu -pa -pa*; (d) dedicated to *Gu Gu* or *Khu-hū*(?). Cp. Gungū or Kuhū.

No. 11. Symbols for *ha* or *u*. and *nu*. Hattili legend *dieu* Santan *dieu Har -har -na -sa -nu* (9?). The corresponding Indic legends: (a) table of offerings dedicated to *H*(*u*)*h*(*u*) (*god* Hūhū, a *gandharva*?); (b) dedicated (symbol of Kubaba?) *A-na.* [d] *hu-hu*; (c) dedicated H(*a* | *u*)*-sir* (?).

No. 12. Symbols for Ha and sa. *Var -pa -sa -ha -a -s*. Indic legend (a) Seal (?) *ta* (hand-sign) *-ba*(?) *-va*(?); *Tābuva* of Atharva Vēda (?); (b) *H*(*u*) *-h*(*u*) *-amu* (?) *-me* (or 8.); (c) *Sa-n*...; (d) *sa -na -ta* (?) *-e* (?). (Santas ? or Sanaka demons).

No. 13. Symbol of *te* (?). Sacrifice *-te -sa -ver -ta*. On the Indus seals note the phallic symbol.

PLATE II



No. 14. Symbol unidentified, *Lu*? Hattili legend : dieu *-hu* (*du?*) *-ha* (*u*?) -i ; dieu *-ta -ā*. Indic. legend *Lu -ha* (?) Cf. huhhas "Grossvater", *Ar. Or.* V. p. 183.

No. 15. Divinity symbol of Vegetation -god V | u (?). Hattili legend (a) dieu *Lu? -ha -da*^{r} *da*^{r} *-me -ma -s* (b) dieu *u* (?) *-va -a -sa -s* ; (c) dieu *Ku -ta -la*^{r} *-i*. The Indic legends :— (a) *me* (4) *Lu* (?) dedicated ; (b)

Lu -shi (?) ; (c) *Gu -lu a* -? -? *-as* (?) -Goddess Gula (?). (But the plant sign is *Nu* in *Ar. Or.* IX. pt. 3. p. 409).

No. 16 symbol for *ma*. Hattili legend *A-te-ma-ja* (*ātma-ja-Skt.*, image of deity) ; Indic legends : (a) dedicated *-Ma -ma* (mother-goddess Mā-Anatolian Cybele ?) ; (b) *Ma* -dedicated *-ta* (?) -cloths *-pa* (?); (c) *A-ha-mava* (?), (d) *Ma-ta* (?) dedicated ; (e) *Mā-* dedicated *(e)* ; *Ha* (?)*-ma-* offerings dedicated *-ta* (?) ; (f) dedicated *Ma-sir* + *a* (?) ; (g) dedicated *Ma*^{r}*-du* (?)*-ha* (Martuka—Marduk ?). (h) *Nu* (?) *-ma -a* (?) *-a* offering *-na*^{r}.

No. 17. Hattili *e*^{r} ; a divinity *e*^{r} *-la* (*el, Äl, Il*).

No. 18. Symbol of *Te* : deity offering *-te -sa -ve*^{r} *-ta*. Common symbol in the Indic seals, with the addition of a prong (*te*^{r} ?).

No 19-20-21. Flames on altar-holocaust symbol. Hattili legend : sacrifice (*santa ?*)*-ja-s.* Indic legend (a) Sacrifice -dedicated -? ; (b) $^{d}\frac{Lu'}{Shi}$ *-va -na* (? *pa*) *-a-* offering *-a* (or *me*). No. 20 Hattili legend : Symbol of offering to Santas ; Sacrifice *-ku -tu -na -li -s.*

No. 21. Divine offering *-es*(?) *-ta* -^{d}*t -ta* -divinity symbol. Indic seals (a) offerings *Ku*^{r} *-a-* dedicated. (b) offering -? *-a -e* (dedication). (c) Seat or altar of sacrifice -?-.

No. 22. Hill-signs standing for prince or divinity ; single for crown-prince or provincial governor and double for the king. *Hattili* legends : (a) *Ku*^{r} *ku*^{r} *-s.* (b) ^{d} *A -ja -me -s -kur ? -ta -s.* Indic legends (a) *Śi -va -me-* dedication *-Ku*(?) or *Ka* -8- dedicate (*e*) *-ha.* (b) *Sa -ka -śi* (c) *Ku -śi -la* ?

No. 23. Symbol for *lu*. Hattili legend : ^{D} *Va -lu -da*^{r} *da*^{r} + *me -ma -s.* Indic legend ? *-va ? -Ku -ku -pa -apa.*

No. 24. Symbol for three and *Va*. *Ve -na -s* ; *Va -ā -sa -va -mu.* Indic legends (a) *Va -su* ? (b) *Va-?*

No. 25. Symbol for four and *me*. ^{d} *A-ja-mē-s.* Indic legends : 4 or *Me* ; *Me-na* ; 4 soldiers ?; 4 female slaves

No. 26. Hattili symbol of uncertain value.

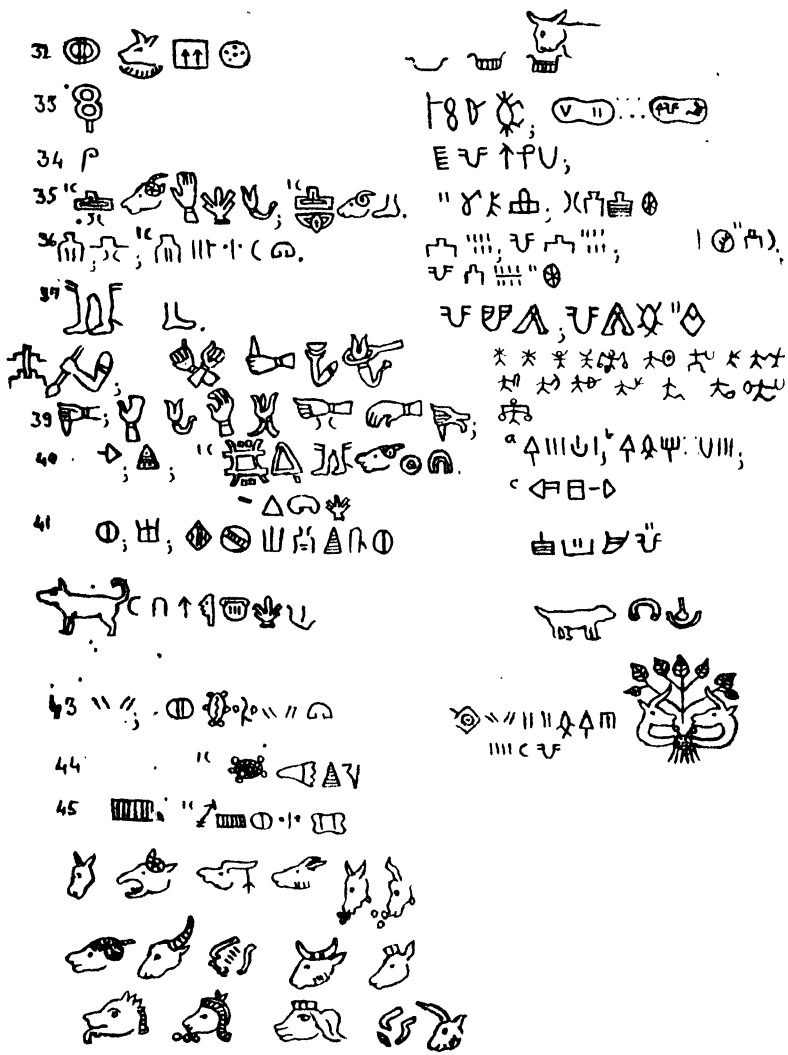
No. 27. Symbol for *S* (*a* | *u*). Indic legends (a) *Ka* ? *-na -va -ya -sa -e* (dedicated). (b) Temple (?) -dedicated *-a -te*^{r} *-a -su -e* or *A' -ja me -s* dedicated. (Atrins or Aja-mēṣa).

No. 28. Symbol for *par* ? or divinity. Indic seals (a) ^{d} *-Na Na* (b) *Lu -va -s -divinity* (?).

No. 29. Hattili legend : Bird-fish *-tu -ta -va -s.* Indic legend : dedicated *-sa* ? *-sa -ku* (seal). Cf. Śaśayu in a charm against wild beasts. (Atharva. IV-3).

No. 30. God symbol. *Arha-* deity *-a -na -pa -va -ta.*

PLATE III



No. 31. Hattili : *Amu* (moi) -fish *-sa -ta -va -mu -Par -me -ta.* Parmeta or Parmena, the capital of Valu—Dadamemas. (*Ar. Or.* VII. p. 491. f. n. 5. cp. *Par-va-ta*).

No. 32. HROZNY takes the first three symbols to represent a vegetation deity and the fourth an offering of cakes or bread. The Indic seals of course have an animal feeding from a manger, very common.

No. 33. The symbol (see above No. 30) may represent a goddess of fertility as on the earliest Sumerian seals or may represent the kidney shaped seals of Harappa. (b) the legend on the obverse *a -na* and on the reverse *Lu* -dedicated *-ya*.

No. 34. Symbol of divinity or kingship. Indic legend : ? -dedicated *-i-* divinity -pa (?).

No. 35 and 36. Hattili legends : ^{d}*Du* ? *-ma -ta -sa -n* ; God *-ma -ta*. Indic (a) Vestibule *-te -s*^{r} ?. (b) Seal *Śa* ? *-ab -a* (?). No. 36, the signs for *la* and vestibule (?) of God. Hattili legend *La -ve*^{r} *-va -na -s*. Indic seals (a) 7 vestibules (?) (b) 7 vestibules dedicated, (c) *na -ba* (temple of deity) *-seal* (?)—1 ; (*d*) Seal of deity—8 (or *me -me*) *-ba* ?—dedicated.

No. 37. Symbols for *Da*^{r} *-da*^{r} + *me* and *ta*. Indic seals : (a) *Da -da -pa*(?)—dedicated ; (b) *Gu -sa -da -da -e* (dedicated).

No. 38. Hand-signs in Hattili *-tá* and *na* variations. First group standing for "grand-son" (?). Corresponding *homo* signs with bows, staffs etc. on Indic seals (?).

No. 39. Symbols for *Lu*. Hattili (a) *Va -lu*^{r} *-da*^{r} *-da -me -ma -sa? -s* (b) ^{d}*Lu -ha -s*. Indic seals (a) *A*(?) *-na -va -lu* ; (b) *Lu-haja* : *na-va* or *pa*. 3. (c) Sydney SMITH in his *History of Assyria* gives this Indic seal found at Ur and reads it as *Śag -ku -shi* or *Ka -ku -shi* | *pi*. HROZNY accepts the Sumerian values of the signs and builds his theory of the Kushites on this reading. He does not account for the fact that the symbol which stands for *lu*^{r} in Hattili should be read as *shi* on the Indus seals. The Ur seal has the figure of an ox or buffalo before a manger. If it is a cuneiform inscription at all, we can suggest that the legend may possibly read as *ka-ku-ha* used for a bull as well as a buffalo in the Vedas, and derived from *ka kud* (hump). If the triangle symbol is read as *shi* on the Indic seals also, then (*a*) ^{d}*Shi -va -na -a* ? (b). *Shi -ka -ta* | *ja* : *pa -va* or *pa*. 3

No. 41. Symbols for *ha* (*u*). Hattili : *Ku -ru -ha -pa* -? *-ar -ha*. The Indic seal : Dedicated (*e*) *pa -ta* ? *-va* ?.

No. 42. Hattili -dog *-na -a -i a-pa-san*. The Indic seal has the same animal (dog ?) and the same legend *r* to *l* : *na -a* or *su-na* (?).

No. 43. Sign for *me* (above No. 25.). Hattili ^{d} *Dada* ? *-va*^{r} *-me -s*. The Indic seal having two deer-heads springing from a radiant circle and seven Aśvattha leaves, has been shown by me to refer to the seven Maruts or to Śiva. The legend probably reads ^{D}*Gu*(*u*) *-me -a -a -s* (*a*) *-shi -va Me -na -e* (dedicated). Compare Sumerian *Mēna*, holy head-dress earlier than the Agu head-dress.

No. 44. Hattili, the first symbol probably stands for a manger or basket of offerings. (Cp. Gadd. *Seals of Indus style at Ur*. No. 6). Legend : Offerings *-la -shi* (or *ku*^{r} ?) *-e*.

No. 45. Hattili symbol for *u*. Legend *ja -u -ha | u -va tu.*

No. 46. Animal heads standing for *ta, ma | mu. sa* ; or sacrifices.

III NOTES

No. 1. Suvāsa inscription (*Ar. Or.* VII. p. 521). Côté D ; and Adjigöl inscription (*Ar. Or.* VII p. 497 Col. 111). HROZNY takes it as sack of provisions dedicated in the temple treasury (?)

No. 2. *D. Nu-na* and *A-na.* (*Ar. Or.* VI. Carchmesh inscription i. A 11 c ; and I. A. 6. col. 1.). God *A-pa-ma-a-a.*

No. 3. Compare *D Ku-ma-n.* (*Ar. Or.* IX. p. 219).

No. 4. *Ar. Or.* VII. p. 182. f. n. and Vol. VI. Carchamesh I A. 11. b. col. 4.

No. 5. Carchemish I. col. 4. (*Ar. Or.* VII p. 182). *A-la-pa -ja-u-va-e.* d Symbol for Santajas.

No. 6. Boybeypunari inscription. (*Ar. Or.* VII. p. 145. Côté B. R-*sa-ma-na-ta na-pa-va-ta a-te-ja*).

No. 7. Carchemish. Lettres. D. *Ar. Or.* V. 1933. 219.

No. 8. doubled also stands for 50 (?). Deity of Van (?). Compare Boybeypunari (*Ar. Or.* VII. p. 150. Côté D. *e ?-at e-va-p-n* (*u | a*)? *ta-s.*

No. 9. Divinity or king Turqu, Turqumuwa, king of Mēra (*Ar. Or.* IX. No. 3. p. 307). Compare *Turāshāt* (Indra) *turaga* (horse).

No. 10. The hawk sign in Hattili may be the same as the duck (?) in the Indic script standing for the mother-goddess. On Cybele (Kubaba) and Ma of Anatolia, see Ramsay. *Asiatic elements in Greek Civilisation.* Kuvēra, the lord of riches and friend of Śiva and the guardian of the north may have been a proto-indic deity. Gungū and Kuhū are the goddesses of the fortnight along with Sinīvālī and Rākā (*Bṛhad dēvata* II-1-12 ff.).

No. 11. Hāhā and Hūhū are two Gandharvas. If the "scorpion" sign stands for *śir*, in *Ha-śir* we may see the origin of Asir-Aśera-Osiris-Asura-Aśirta-Athirat-Athitar-Ishtar-Astarte-Tārā. But Semetic and Hamitic origin of this divinity cannot be assumed as G. A. BARTON does (*Semitic* and *Hamitic Origins, Social and Religious,* Pennsylvania).

No. 12. Tābuva, Tastuva, Tāduri are mentioned in Atharva. Santa may have been connected with Śaṇḍa and Amarka or Marka, supposed to be the priests of Asuras (*Taitt. Brā°* I—1.).

Apanuttas Śaṇḍah, apanuttō'markah ;
apanuttas' śaṇḍāmarku sahā amunā.
Udgītha on Rg. X-28-20 explains Marka as purifier.

No. 13. Compare the phallic symbol with the symbol for a male in archaic Chinese.

No. 14. God Luha and also the name of a king and tribe (Luwian) see Carchamesh I. A. 6 col. 111. where HROZNY finds reference to the Mysians

(*Mu-sa-ja*), Moschians (*Mu-sa-ka*) and *Lu-ja*. Regarding the Indian Mulaka-Mūshaka mentioned in the Jātakas, Mahābhārata, the inscription of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. see my article on Mulakas (*Q. J. M. S.* Vol. 21. January). Gelb (*Ar. Or.* IX. p. 411), takes R-*hu-ha-i* as grand-pere." Messerschmidt *huhas*. . . .

No. 15. Cp. Adjigöl (Topada). Col. IV and col. VII. f. n. 2 on page 502, *I. H. H.* 307 n. 7. "Les divinite's de la vegetation et des offrandes du sacrifice ne reçoivent à elles deux qu'une portion d'offrandes, tandis que les dieux *Santajas* (?) et *Dadâmes* reçoivent chacun une portion entiere ; les deux premièrs divinités sont donc de moindre importance que ces deux dernières."

No. 16. Compare Śrī-Mā. Chandra-Mā, Anatolian Ma, Māta (mother). Hamata (place Amyssa ?). On Martukas (*Ar. Or.* VII. p. 7.) HROZNY says that the divinity *Ma-ru-ta-ka-s* may be compared with the Vedic Maruts on the one side and the Cassite god Marutaś (identified sometimes with Babylonian Ninurta, Nazi-Maruttaś). "Le fait que les Mitanniens, d'origine indienne, étaient voisins des "Hittites" hieroglyphiques, suffit sans doute à expliquer l'existence de ce nom divin aussi dens les inscriptions "hittites" hièroglyphiques. Le suffixe *-ka* -de *Maruttakas* represent probablement le suffixe indo-européen *-ko-*. Le nom *Maruttakas* ne signifierait-il pas à peu près "le (dieu) Marutéen" ? See also my remarks on the Maruts in *Studies in the Indus Scripts* (*Q. J. M. S.* 1934) and *Proto-Indic Religion* (*Q. J. M. S.* 1942.)

No. 19-21. Boybeypunari (*Ar. Or.* VII. p. 193. f. n. 1 ; IX. p. 217).

No. 21. also for '*trône*" *Ar Or.* IX. p. 220. R-*ta-va*. Boybey-punari III col. 1. Côte A. R-*ja a-me-s*.

No. 22. On this "hill" sign *Ku*? see HROZNY *Ar. Or.* VII. p. 137 f. n. 3.

No. 25. Hattili deity *A-ja-me-s* reminds us of Nēṣamēṣa to whom prayers were offered for obtaining children (Bṛhaddēvata X. 185.—Naijamēṣa, regular form). In Śvētāmbara Jaina legends a Negama deity with ram-head transfers the foetus from wombs. Probably connected with Aja and mēṣa ?

No. 27. *Ka-na-va* may refer to Kaṇvas who like the Atrins and Sanakas are sometimes called a class of demons, *Rg.* I. 33. 4.

वधीर्हि दस्युं धनिनं धनेनगॅ् एकश्चरन्नुपशाकेभिरिन्द्र ।
धनोरधि विषुणक्ते व्यायन्नयज्वानः सनकाः प्रेतिमीयुः ॥

Sāyaṇa :—

सनकाः एतन्नामका वृत्रानुचराः, प्रेतिमीयुः—मरणं प्राप्ताः ॥

Atharva II—25. Charm against Kaṇva piśāca bringing about abortion ? A plant (*pṛśniparṇi* is called *Kaṇvajambhana*. तया कण्वस्यां क्षिरः छिनद्मि. "Blood drinking wizard, embryo eating Kaṇvas—make them enter a mountain." Also compare Atharva IV-15 names of she frogs Khaṇvakhā, Khaimakhā, Tāduri.

No. 29. Suvasa. Cote. c. (*Ar. Or.* VII. p. 520 f. n. 1.)

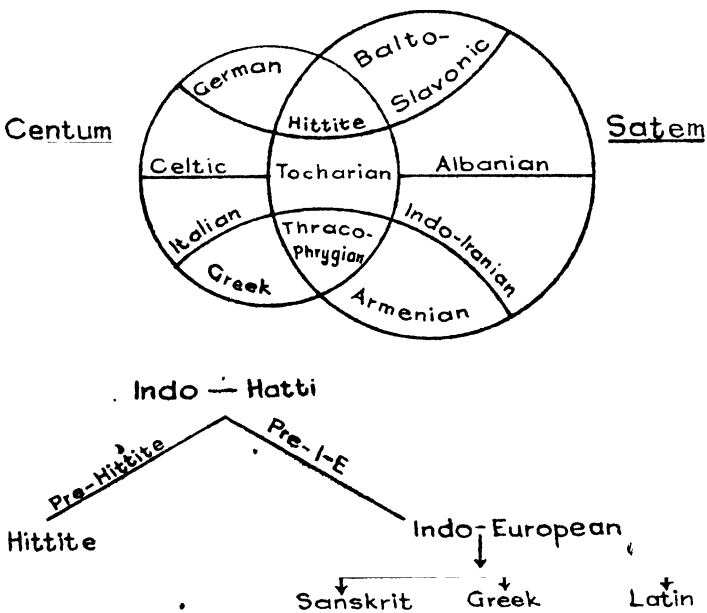
No. 31. Adjigöl (Topada). *Ar. Or.* VII. p. 491. f. n. 5.

No. 32. Cf. notes on no. 15.

IV

HROZNY's assumption that hattili is not connected with the Indo-European languages seems to rest on rather weak evidence. STURTEVANT states that from Indo-Hatti two main branches Pre-Hittite and Pre-Indo-European sprang up and that the classical Hittite (Nesite) belongs to the older branch and from Indo-European sprang Samskrt, Greek and Latin. He calls the Hittite, Tocharian and Thaco-Phrygian the central Indo-European group, the Balto-Slavonic Albanian, Indo-Iranian and Armenian, the Satem languages and Greek, Italian, Celtic and German, the Centum group.

PLATE IV



The " Glossenkeil in Hittite " does not denote foreign (Luwian ?) words but old forms which the scribes faithfully retained though they were strange to them. KEITH (*I. H. Q.* Sep. 1940) finds that there is no sufficient evidence to separate Luvians from the Hittites on their first appearance in Asia Minor, and any difference can be explained by separate settlements, whereas Rosenkranz thinks that Luvian was the colloquial speech of the Hittite empire. KEITH questions whether the so-called archaisms in Hittite show that the development of I. E. is really opposed to Hittite and says that Hittite is a development of I. E. The relationship between Hattili and Hittite is of im-

portance. GÖTZE thinks that the Proto-Hattic speech using prefixes for noun and verb formation is entirely different in manner from Indo-European and occupied Asia Minor before the Luvians and Hittites entered the country, before the fourth millennium B.C. according to FÖRRER. Therefore the Aryans (Luvians) must have settled in Asia Minor in the fourth millennium and are probably responsible for the Trojan-Yortan civilisation. GÖTZE thinks that Śandaś and Tarku are Luvian deities and gives the examples Tarhuntaśśa and Dattaśśa meaning "belonging to those deities." BRANDENSTEIN also shows that Tarhunt is derived from Tarku or Tarhun, the Proto-Hattic deity, which word may be compared with Sanskṛt Tārkṣya, etc. *Arin* connected with rivers and places near streams may be compared with *araṇam* which means water (*Nirukta* II—10) and *arṇava* etc., and Greek *Arne, Arna, Anaia.* Apart from the linguistic evidence which is highly suspect, no other class of evidence has been produced to show that Hattili differed radically from Aryan Hittite either in religion, art or government. That there was a gradual transition to the classical Hittite from Hattili can be demonstrated in spite of the difference in language and grammar e.g. prefixes for nouns and verb formation. HROZNY (*Ar. Or.* VII. p. 178) writes "La langue "hittite"—hieroglyphique de la Syrie du nord appartenant au group *centum*—forme ainsi une transition entre les langues indo-européennes d' Asie Mineure—luite et nesite appartenant au groupe *centum*—et la langue mitanniene indienne, de la Mésopotamie septentrionale, qui appartient au groupe *satem.* Il n'est sandoute pas indifférent de remarquer, en ce sens, que la langue "hittes"—hieroglyphique et la langue indienne de Mîtanni se touchent par leur pronoun relatif, *jas* en "hittite"—hieroglyphique et probablement aussi en mitannien, alors que le nesite et le luite utilisaient le pronoun relative **quis.*" He also refers to the divinity *Marutakas* in the Kaiseri inscription (*Ar. Or.* VII. p. 7) apparently Vedic *Marut.*

A comparison of the proper names in Hattili inscriptions as deciphered by HROZNY with Purāṇic names will be of interest though as yet it is unsafe to draw any dogmatic conclusions regarding the migration routes and dates, of the Aryan tribes.

Rulers	*Puranic Names.*
Astu Vatumajas (Asta Santajas?)	Aśamanjas.
Luhas	Ruhāmana, Rōhita, Rushadratta, Lauhī, Ruksha.
Katuvas of Kargamesas (Cp. Lydian *Katovaś*)	Krostu, Kētuman, Kṛta.
Kamanas	Dē vana, Kshēma,
Aëas (Arias)	Ārya. Āyu. Aila.
Malia-Tesupas	Maru, Mūlaka.
Vena-Tesupas	Vēna.
Aska-Tesupas	Ajaka, Aśśaka.

Rulers	*Puranic Names*
Sagaris	Sagara.
Halpavâs	
Âsla Tesupas	
Tuvaʳsas	Turvasu.
ɛʳ-lâ-janavatas	
Valu Dadamemas I	Durdama
Tuvatas	Drupa la.
Valu.Dadadamemaʳ II	Vala-Duma.
Anittas	Anara, Arishṭa.
Japtavaras	(Ratha)vara.
Taksalas	Daksha, Taksha.
Parna (?)-varas	Parṇavara.
Gagas	Garga Ganga ?
Jasastamas	Yaśastama.
Saruvanas of Nahita	Samvaraṇa, Śaravana.
Nahita-avanas	
Tarhuvaras	Tārkṣya.
Tarhujaras	Tārkshyavarma (?)
Kuru of Hattusas	Kuru, Kshattra.
Kuruhapâha	Kuru, Kukura.
Asata Valus	Asita, Hasti-vala.
Tutamuvas	Durdama.
Tarumēś	
Panamuvatas	
Venas	Vena (Atharva IV-2).
Ajames	Ajamēṣa Ajāmiḍha.
Unaʳas	Sunīta, Sannati.
Atapaʳnas	Ṛtuparṇas.
ɛ-laʳ-vanas	
Dwʳpata	Drupada.
(Turmitta ?)	Durmitra.
Agu|kusavēnaṣ	Amkuśa.
Luʳ-lime-s-Dadamemas	
Ajjatastames of Teverma	
Rutas	Ṛta.

Deities	
Tarku, Tarkun	Tārkshya, Taksha.
Sandan, Santajas	Śaṇḍa.
Kubaba ; Ma	Mā. Ra-mā, U-mā, Śrīmā, etc.
Dadames Dada, °vamēś	Durdama.
Karduś (?)	Kardama.
Marutakas	Marut.
ɛʳla	Iḷā.
Nuna, Arha (?)	Nānā, Arhat.
Halpa	
Munavata	
Malia	

Deities	*Puranic Names*
Kuvanta	
Nukar	
Utamanas (?)	
Tapasala-e	
Largumala, Largus	
Usa (Vasa) nasas	Uśanas.
Dupata	Drupada.
Arha Kamenas	Arhat (Śramana).
Maruva Vanas	Marutvant.
Ajameś	Naijamēṣa.
Tēśub	

HROZNY in his "*Les inscriptions hittites hieroglyphiques*" says regarding Hattili that it is neither Nesite of the cuneiform inscriptions nor Lûyite but closely related to both of them. He instances :

(*a*) Personal pronouns *-amu* -I, *ames* or *meas* -my, mine, *tuvas* -thy, thine,

(*b*) Demonstrative and relative pronoun *jas ; pata, apata* ;

(*c*) numeral *tuvai*-two ;

(*d*) forms of the third person singular of active imperative *-ajatu-* let him make, the same form in passive *-ajaru* (with I. E. medio passive *r* ; Cp. Luyite *ajjaru-* let him be made) ;

(*e*) forms of third person singular present : *asta-* he sits down.

(*f*) Conjugation and declension ;

(*g*) Words such as *menulas-* moon, *tunakalas-* sun (cp. Nesite, *tunnakessar-* sun) ; etc.

These seem to point out that "at least in its essence it is of I. E. origin" but also influenced by non-I.E. languages like Hurri. The people in the second millennium B. C. inhabited the country west of the proper I. E. Hittites and Lûyites towards Lydia. HROZNY says that these people destroyed the Hittite empire in c. 1200 B. C. but they in their turn were driven out by others, especially the I. E. Phrygians into Asia Minor and Syria where the majority of their inscriptions are found, and their capitals were Tuvanuva and Carchemish. HROZNY thinks it is less probable that the hieroglyphic people are an old population of the south-eastern parts of Asia Minor and northern Syria who acquired power after the fall of the Hittite empire. It is probable that this people took the name of the Hittites along with the political power though what they called themselves before it is not possible to say.

But this reconstruction of the history of the near east is open to several criticisms. It is more probable that the hieroglyphic "hittites" represent an older power whose ruling classes were Aryans and who were succeeded by classical hittites, whose power ended with Dudhaliash III, between the reigns of Seti II and Rameses III (c. 1180 B. C.). It is doubtful whether the hieroglyphic hittites could maintain their independence in face of the expanding

Assyrian empire in the times of Adad Nirari I who conquered the Kassites, the Subari and Shalmanaser I who took Urartu near lake Wan and two cities of the Arinni of the Hittites and Hurri, Tukulti Enurta I who also captured Hittite soldiers and ended the Kassite rule in Babylon. Therefore the attempt to place the Hattili people's domination after the classical Hittites can be dismissed. These Hattili people are considered like the later Hittites etc as migrants, though in no case has any hittite record has been produced to show that the people considered themselves immigrants or particularly connected with any original home. FORRER says that the Luvians entered in the fourth millennium B.C. and occupied the country of the proto-Hatti, and afterwards in the second half of the third millennium the Hittites came. As we have seen KEITH says that there is little to distinguish the Luvians from the Hittites and any difference may be due to the far flung settlements. The Hittite royal lines commenced probably with Tabarnas or a little earlier (C. 1900 B.C.). But the capital Hattusilis is older. KEITH supports the view of E. Meyer that the migrations of Hittites, of the Mittanni and other Aryan tribes occurred through the Caucasus as the later Kimmeroi did, dismissing the suggestion that the Luvians brought Trojan civilisation from Europe. But a proto—I. E. people in Asia Minor have been deduced on linguistic grounds, though KEITH tries to discredit the theory of Kretschmer. Proto I. E. *Tin*, Etruscan *Tin* (*i*) *a, Laconian Tindariaai, the Dioskouroi* etc. is not opposed to I. E. *din*-Slavic *dini*-day. H. Pedersen (*Ar. Or.* V. p. 182) has shown that the sun ideogram° followed by *tu-na-ka* (ga)-*la-s* may be connected with "got *tuggl*" "*Gestirn*," altnord. *himen-tungl* 'Himmelskörper' *tungl* 'Mond', altengl-*tungol* "Himmelskörper, Stern", altsächs. *tungal, hebban tungal* "Gestirn," alt hoch d. *himil-zungal* 'Gestirn.' The Nesite word *tunna-kessar* also means "Sun". *Tingal* in Dravidian now stands for the moon and the month (probably lunar, of the Dravidians), but Skt. *dina* is "day" and *ina* -sun. *zungal* may have been connected with Skt. *suvar, svar, sūrya*' lat. *sōl* (mas.) alt nord. *sól* (fem). The word *Na(e)sa* which is read by HROZNY on the Indic seals is connected by him with Hittite $\sqrt{neś}$ (to dwell) and with Gk. *naos* (a temple) but there is no corresponding Skt. root as Hittite belongs to the centum group. But we have *ni vēś*, and *vēś* (place, house). Nēsai in Dravidian mean the sun, day). Discussing the word *Nêsas* in connection with the classical Hittites (Nesites). HROZNY says "Le nom (*Nêsa-s* Nesa-s?) pourrait appartenir à la racine indo-européenne **nes-*; *gr. νεομαι* -venir, revenir, retourner, *nostos* -retour *naio* fut. *Nassouai* -habiter, neos, *naios* -demeure de la divinité, temple"; Skt. नसते -se réunir, śassicier; *asta-*, av. *asta* -domicile, lieu natal etc." (*Ar. Or.* I. p. 298, f. n. 1.). Compare the place-names Nisâja -Nesaion in Media and Hyrcania, Nēsiōtis, Nesis near the Rha-Volga and the Black Sea. The historical Nesites are located near the Halys and their city Kussara-Garsaura south of Tatta lake. To their south on the coast were the Luites (in Arzava), east up to the Euphrates the Hurri (non I. E.) and east of the Euphrates the Mitanni in the second millennium B. C. All these tribes can be assumed to have come by

the way of the Caucasus. It should be noted that the Brahui have a tradition that their original home was Aleppo (Halpa-Zalpa ?) and divided into two clans, the Sagdai (Sagtai of the Greeks) and the Saga (Sākī). HROZNY following MEYER'S suggestion that the Dahae (Dahyu-Dasyu) spread from the Caspian to the Jaxartes, has enunciated the theory that the Kas, Kus etc. had their original home in the regions of the Caucasus and the Caspian. The proto-Hindu Kushites are distinguished from Hattili people whose oldest habitat is placed in the regions of Trans-Caucasia, North Syria and eastern Asia Minor. He thinks that the Indus population included the hieroglyphic "Hittites" who formed the dominant element. the Subaru or Hurri and the Cassites or Elamites. The anthropological evidence of the Indus valley excavations shows however that there were two main types. Type A :—people, with big brains, long headed, with high cranial vaults, massive prominent supra-orbital ridges and enormous development of post-auricular direction. Sir Arthur KEITH calls them Caucasic and connected with the Al Ubaid Sumerians, but different from the dolicho cephals (?) and not proto-Austroloid (Weddids of FRIEDRICHS and MÜLLER ?). These do not represent the present Indus people. Type B. the so-called Mediterraneans with high pitched narrow nose. Dr. GUHA'S suggestion that they formed the ruling classes, being physically weaker and therefore (!) more intellectual is ridiculous (MACKAY. *Further excavations at Mohenjo Daro*). In the Harappa cemetery long-headed, long-faced dolichocephals, tall with prominent noses are found in the earlier stratum, succeeded by or perhaps contemporaneous with small-statured low headed people of the upper stratum. There is no "considerable gap" as Dr. GUHA imagines between the dolichocephals who correspond to MD. I, Al Ubaid, Kish "massive" types, and Kawamil from Egypt. The small low headed people of the "jar burials" represent according to GUHA the present aborigines of India. The Harappa remains demonstrate the presence of the non-Armenoid and probably also of the Armenoid—Alpine race. (M. S. VATS. *Excavations at Harappa*). A definitely Mongoloid element is also found in the lowest levels of Mohenjo-Daro and therefore cannot be dismissed as late intrusion. Therefore the population consisted of the Proto-Austroloid (dolichocephalic Weddids) Mediterranean (dolichocephalic with less brain capacity), Mongoloid (mesaticephalic as at Tepe Hissar), Alpino-Armenoid (brachycephals).[6] Regarding the Subartu, Sydney SMITH says that they were fair-complexioned people of Zagros hills speaking a non-semitic language, connected with "Caucasian." If they are identical with the Hurri they spoke a non I. E. language and were distinguished from the "black-headed" Sumerians. They formed the predominant population in Assyria but gradually

[6] Hariyūpiya of Ṛg Veda, a river, has been identified with Harappa (a place). We have Hāruppēśvara the capital of Harjara Varma (9th century) in Assam. B. KĀKATI (*N. I. A.* Feb. 1942, p. 391.) derives the name from Santal *hara*, hill ; Austric *pau*, hill ; Santal *harup* -to cover as with a basket, (a mound.). Were the founders of Harappa before Aryan occupation Austric speaking people ? The evidence is inconclusive.

came under the influence of the Sumerians. Subartu was identified with later Assur in the north-east by the time of Asurbanipal. The Sumerian name Martu is translated as the hills of Amurru (the later Assyria). Susa I a. and b, which stood in parental relation to Al Ubaid perhaps may be connected with them. Some early Assyrian kings Ushpia, Kikia (compare *Kikuli*, the Mitannian of the Boghazkoei document on horse-training) had non-semetic names. Therefore the Indo-European element can be traced throughout the Near East as early as the fourth millennium B.C. The excavations at Alaçai Huyuk show that even as late as 2000 B.C. Anatolian civilisation (Troy etc.) had no writing or seals. But the pottery of the fourth level at Raś Shamra in North Syria (3000 B. C.) resembles the ware of Tell Halaf, Carchemesh, Arpachiya and Chagar Bazar. The fourth level at Atchana (near Antioch) proves that the king of Alalah, Nez-me-das made an alliance with the king of the Hurri (16 C. B. C.)—the earliest reference to the Hurri (?). And the oldest Hittite buildings in Syria prove that the Hittites had settled there much earlier than 1420 B. C. (*Ill. L. News*. Oct. 9, 1937). At Eshnunna (Tell-Asmar) Bilalama (C. 2600-2200 B. C.) imported articles from the Indus valley and Ituria also. The God Tispak had a temple before the Akkadian period, constructed by Ibiq Adad, "enlarger of Eshnunna, the shepherd of the black-headed people, beloved of Tishpak, and the son of Ibl pel." HROZNY connects some seals with Akkad, but the language is not Semetic. Shulgi of the Ur III Dynasty established a god Kadi at Der and Kazallu and perhaps the seal may have been dedicated to that god. But as already pointed out the Indic seals cannot be those of tribes or of the majority of individuals but amulets. Even in Hieroglyphic "Hittite" in the beginning of the third millennium B. C. Indo-European linguistic and cultural influence is acknowledged. For the same reason the fantastic theories of Dravidian origin of the Indic script and civilisation can be dismissed as there is no evidence, anthropological, linguistic or chronological. No sound argument has yet been adduced to demonstrate the non-Aryan origin of the Proto-Indic civilisation. Indeed what archæological evidence there is, shows that as early as the fourth millennium B.C. Indic pottery, seals etc. had penetrated even into Anatolia. Therefore without giving up the theory of Atharvan origin of the Indic civilisation, we may conclude that HROZNY'S attempt to decipher the Indus script through hieroglyphic "hittite" further demonstrates the fact of the migration of the Proto-Hindu civilisation to the west, not later than the fourth millennium B. C.

APROPOS OF THE CONCEPTION OF IMMORTALITY IN THE VEDA

By

Shri H. G. NARAHARI, M.A.

BELIEF in personal immortality is not a doctrine of schools, but a conclusion of humanity. It is not based on the logic or metaphysics of any particular system, but is the utterance of a primary instinct common to the entire human race. The great religions of the world all of which accept this theory, have each its own form and solution for the problem. Nevertheless, the fact remains that every such theory has for its basis the crucial assumption of the 'disparateness between Matter and Energy.'[1]

In so far as the intimations of immortality in the Veda are concerned, it is the eschatalogical hymns of the Saṁhitās, particularly of the Ṛgveda, that seem to have the maximum disclosures to make. A people who believe in the penal retribution after death for man's deeds on Earth can afford to be consistent only when they accept that a portion of the individual is unaffected by the events of birth and death, and survives the body which is destroyed when he dies. Such is the case with the Ṛgvedic Aryans who, in consonance with their conception of Heaven where the virtuous revel with Yama, clearly accept the existence of the immortal portion of the individual which survives burial or cremation.

Fire or the grave is thus considered to destroy the body only, while the real personality of the dead man is indestructible. In one verse of the RV. (X. 16.6), Agni is requested to temper the unborn portion (*ajo bhāga*) of man with his flames, but not to consume it also. We have here an adumbration of the 'subtle body' (*sūkṣmaśarīra*) of the Upaniṣads and later philosophical literature. This immortal principle of the individual is also called by such names as *prāṇa, ātman, asu,* or *manas*, and is believed often to be separable from the body even during unconsciousness. In one hymn (RV. X. 58), the soul (*manas*) of one who is lying apparently dead is besought to return to the body wherever it be wandering. As the seat of thought and emotion, *Manas* is also regarded as dwelling in the heart (*hṛd*) [RV. VIII. 89.5]. The usages of the words mentioned already, as also several other passages occurring in the Ṛgveda prove that these seers had a fairly advanced conception of the Soul. These poets knew already that the soul is different from the body and survives its destruction, that it is eternal, neither born nor liable to destruction, that it forms the essence of the body and is its con-

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[1] KEYSERLING, *Immortality*, p. 22.

troller, that it is the experiencer of the reward of man's actions, and that it is composed of the three qualities *sat*, *cit* and *ānanda*.[2]

There are some passages in the Ṛgveda where a clear reference is made to the souls of deceased ancestors (*pitarah*) who are conceived as still existing in some other world. The seer once (RV. I. 36.18) seeks to invite, through the agency of Agni, Turvasa, Yadu and Ugradeva from afar. The fathers are said to have adorned the sky with stars, as a bay horse is decorated with pearls (*kṛśanebhiḥ*).[3] Two paths are mentioned, one of the fathers and the other of the gods (RV. X. 88.15). Soma, in concert with the fathers, is said to have extended the heaven and earth (VIII. 48.13). A prayer is offered to the early fathers who know the realms that they should not injure their descendants (RV. III. 55.2).[4]

Two entire hymns (X. 15 and 54) are devoted in the *Ṛgveda* for the praise of these ancestors. Different races of them are mentioned like the *Kavyas*, *Ṛkvans*, *Aṅgirases*, *Navagvas*, *Vairūpas*, *Atharvans*, *Bhṛgus*, and *Vasiṣṭhas* (RV. X. 14.3-6; 15.8). Among these, the *Aṅgirases* are particularly associated with Yama (RV. X. 14.3, 5), though it is also said that all the fathers revel with him (RV. X. 14.10; 135.1). Distinction is also made among them as lower, higher and middle (RV. X. 15.1), as earlier and later (RV. X. 15.2). Some[5] become immortal and are deified, while others[6] are denied this privilege. Some rejoice in the call *svāhā* in common with the gods, while others take delight in the call *svadhā*. (RV. X. 14.3). The descendants of these ancestors may not know them all, but Agni knows every one of them (RV. X. 15.13). In general, these fathers lead the life of the gods themselves, for with them they feast (RV. VII. 76.4) and with them are invited to partake of offerings given by their descendants on earth (RV. X. 14.5). Thus propitiated by their children on earth, they are not ungrateful; having become immortal (AV. VI. 41.3), they care faithfully for their mortal offspring in this world. Where men prepare the sacrifice and call them, thither they all go in thousands (RV. X. 15.10, 11), full of gifts, 'with succour rich in blessing, with prosperity and blessing to the mortal adorer. They bring their sons might and wealth and prosperity; they hear, help, comfort; they fight boldly like heroes in battle and give a thousand-fold reward for the offerings.'[7] The worshippers request these fathers not to injure them for any sin committed by them through human frailty (RV. X. 15.6).

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[2] For a detailed account of this, see my 'Soul in the Ṛgveda' in the *Review of Philosophy and Religion*, Vol. XI., pp. 51 ff.

[3] RV., X. 68.11.

[4] See also RV. VI. 52.4; 75.10; VII. 35.12; IX. 83.3; X. 107.1.

[5] Chief among these are the *Ṛbhus* and the *Maruts*. This point is discussed elaborately in the later portions of this paper.

[6] To this category belong the *Kavyas*, *Ṛkvans*, *Vasiṣṭhas* and other varieties of fathers who remain unnamed in the Veda. All these rejoice in *svadhā*; and though all these accompany the gods to sacrifices, the *Kavyas* seem to be the special followers of *Agni* (RV. X. 15.9).

[7] RV. X. 15. 4, 5, 7.

Certain cosmic actions are also attributed[8] *to these fathers (pitaraḥ); they are thus said to have adorned the sky with stars and placed darkness in the night and light in the day* (RV. X. 68.11), and to have found the hidden light and generated the dawn (RV. VII. 76.4 ; X. 107.1).

From what has been said till now, it is clear that the Vedic poets believed in the survival of the immortal principle of man even after the destruction of his mortal body. The further destiny of this immortal principle remains now to be considered.

These poets were uncompromising optimists who gloried in the life they lived on earth. They longed to live on earth as long as possible rather than to get out of it. 'May we live for a hundred autumns' is the oft-repeated boon that the Vedic Seer desired from his propitious god.[9] WHITNEY's[10] observations in this connection are noteworthy : "The earliest inhabitants of India were far enough removed from the unhealthy introversion of their descendants, from their contempt of all things beneath the sun, from their melancholy opinion of the vanity and misery of existence, from their longings to shuffle off the mortal coil forever, and from the metaphysical subtlety of their views respecting the universe and its creator. They looked at all these things with the simple apprehension, the naive faith, which usually characterises a primitive people. They had a hearty and healthy love of earthly life, and an outspoken relish for all that makes up for the ordinary pleasures of life. Wealth and numerous offspring were the constant burden of their prayers to their gods. Success in predatory warfare, or in strife for consideration for power, was fervently besought. Length of days in the land, or death by no other cause than old age, was not less frequently supplicated ; they clung to the existence of which they fully appreciated all the delights." Nor were they afraid to die for, after death, they went to a place which was not uncovetable. Their ancestors who went long back (RV. X.14.7) had prepared for them another place which was even more joyous. Yama, the son of Vivasvat, who was the first to know the path, (*gātum prathamaḥ viveda*)[11] and hence, perhaps, the ruler of the dead (RV. X. 169), has found a dwelling in the highest heaven from which no power can displace them (X. 14.2). To

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[8] Cf. the Iranian *Fravashis* who are said to aid *Ahura-Mazda* in ordering the heaven above, which, gleaming and beautiful, encloses in itself and round about that earth, which like a building stands raised, firmly founded, far-reaching, like polished metal in appearance, shining over the three parts of the earth. Through their action and might, the divinely created waters flow onward in their beautiful paths ; the trees grow forth from the earth, and the wind blows ; through their action and might sun, moon, and stars move on their paths, the heavens, the waters, the earth with its blessing, the whole world, remain established (cited by KAEGI, *Rigveda*, p. 166 n.)

[9] See for instance, RV. VII. 66.16.

[10] *Oriental and Linguistic Studies*, p. 49 f.

[11] RV. X. 14.2 ; The *Atharvaveda* (XVIII. 3,13) is more explicit in saying that *Yama* is the first mortal to die (*yó mamára prathamó mártyānām*).

this place which Yama has spied out as the path for many (*bahubhyaḥ panthām anupaspaśānam*) are admitted all the dead, for he is the assembler of people (*saṅgamanam janānām*).[12] The dead man obtains here a resting place (RV. X. 14.9) when recognised by Yama as his own (AV. XVIII. 2.37). When the dead body is either consigned to flames[13] or laid away to gentle rest in the bosom of Mother Earth,[14] the earth-born portion is given back, but the Soul of the pious man which belongs to the world above,[15] soars up towards a new life :[16]

Sûryam cákṣur gacchatu vâtam ātmâ dyâm ca gaccha pṛthivîm ca dhármaṇā |

Apó vā gaccha yádi tátra te hitám óṣadhīṣu práti tiṣṭhā śárīraiḥ ||
Ajó bhāgás tápasā tám tapasva tám te śocís tapatu tám te arciḥ |
Yās te śivás tanvo jātavedas tâbhir vahainam sukṛtām u lokam ||

Two verses[17] in MUIR'S metrical sketch of the Vedic idea of the future life express the same idea in a very beautiful way :

"Thine eye shall seek the solar orb,
Thy life-breath to the wind shall fly,
Thy part ethereal to the sky ;
Thine earthly part shall earth absorb.

Thine unborn part shall Agni bright
With his benignest rays illume,
And guide it through the trackless gloom
To yonder sphere of life and light."

Before the deceased reaches the abode of Yama who sits engaged in an everlasting bout with the gods the man has first to run past the two, four-eyed, brindled dogs whom he meets on the way (RV. X. 14.10 ; 135.1). Nor does he go without escort, for *Pūṣan*, *Agni* and *Savitṛ* lead the dead on the far path to the fathers (RV. X. 17.3.5). The dove (*kapota*) and the owl (*ulūka*)

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[12] RV. X. 14.1 ; cf. the *Avesta* which mentions *Yima* making a gathering (*hanjamanem*) of mortals (*Vendidad*, II. 21) SBE., IV 15. ; cf. LANMAN, *Sanskrit Reader*, p. 377.

[13] RV. X. 16.1. [14] RV. X. 18.10-13.

[15] Cf. RV. X. 14.8 where the soul is asked to go back to its home (*punar astam ehi*) which seems to be a clear anticipation, of course without its sting, of BYRON'S lines :

"Methinks we have lived in some old world
And this is Hell."

Compare also WORDSWORTH when he says :

"Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting :
The Soul that rises with us, Our Life's Star,
Hath had elsewhere its setting.
And cometh from afar."

[16] RV. X. 16.3, 4. [17] *Original Sanskrit Texts*, V. 328,

are also called the messengers of death (*nirṛti, mṛtyu*).[18] Also, it is not right to expect that the soul which cast off its dead body at the funeral, revels in Heaven after regaining its old earthly body or without any body at all. The mundane body discarded at death was useful only during the Soul's stay on earth, and its revival[19] is quite unnecessary. Nor is the alternative view tenable that no body is necessary for the Soul once it leaves the earth. In order to enjoy the luxuries available in Heaven, the Soul must have a body. Having destroyed its earthly body on the funeral-pyre, it must now have a new body, one as befits a resident in the abode of the gods. We are thus told that the moment the dead man enters the abode of Yama, he shakes off all imperfections and bodily frailties (RV. X. 14.8; AV. VI. 120.3). The limbs are no longer lame or crooked, and all sickness is cast off (AV. III. 28. 5). He has entered a 'land over-flowing with milk and honey' (AV. IV. 34.6) where there is eternal light (RV. IX. 113.7), where all people are equal and the weak are no longer subject to pay tribute to the strong (AV. III. 29.3). Here, united with a glorious body (*tanvā suvarcāḥ*),[20] he passes a life of eternal enjoyment. In this heaven, the sound of the flute and of songs is heard (RV. X. 135.7), and there seems to be abundant scope for sexual gratification also (AV. IV. 34.2). The enjoyments at this state are said to be granted by Soma and are described thus :[21]

Yátra jyótir ájasram yasmin loké svar hitám |
Tásmin mắm dhehi pavamānā' mṛte loké ákṣita índrāyendo pári srava ||
Yátra rājā vaivasvato yatrāvaródhanam divaḥ |
Yatrāmur yahvatīr āpas tatra mām amṛtam kṛdhíndrāyendo pári srava ||
Yatrānukāmám caraṇam trināké tridivé divaḥ |
Lokā́ yátra jyótiṣmantas tátra mắm amṛtam kṛdhíndrāyendo pári srava ||
Yátra kắmā nikāmā́ś ca yátra bradhnásya viṣṭápam |
Svadhā́ ca yátra tṛptiś ca tátra mắm amṛtam kṛdhi ... ||
Yatrānandā́ś ca módā́ś ca múdaḥ pramúda ásate |
kāmasya yátrāptāḥ kāmas tátra mắm amṛtam kṛdhí ... ||

"Where glory never-fading is—where is the world of heavenly light,
The world of immortality—the everlasting—set me there!
Where Yama reigns, Vivasvat's son—where is the inmost sphere of heaven,
Where those abounding waters flow—O make me but immortal there!
Where there is freedom unrestrained—there in the triple vault of heaven,
Where worlds of brightest glory are—O make me but immortal there!
Where pleasures and enjoyments are—where raptures and abiding bliss,

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[18] RV. X. 165.1, 4.

[19] Contrast KEITH, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, II. 405, where he maintains that the old body is revived, though in a new form.

[20] RV. X. 14.8.

[21] RV. IX. 113.7-11.

Where all desires are satisfied—O make me but immortal there!
Where joys and delights are, where pleasures and gratifications,
Where objects of desire are attained—O make me but immortal there!

So much for the usual destiny of the virtuous after death. The RV. also mentions the instances of certain mortals[22] whose special merit is said to have brought them 'immortality' (*amṛtatva*) and who thereafter got respected as gods. The destination spoken of hitherto is meant[23] for the ascetic (*tapasā ye anādhṛṣyāḥ*), the soldier (*ye yudhyante pradhaneṣu*), and the philanthropist (*Ye sahasradakṣiṇāḥ*); but those that demonstrated some feats proving their extraordinary skill were rightly honoured with a higher reward which was inaccessible to commonalty. If the former got after death, the privilege of enjoyment in company with Yama, their primeval ancestor, the latter then became *immortal* and enjoyed the company even of the high gods, a fact which is often hyperbolically expressed by saying that they became gods.

Notable among those that belong to this category are the *Ṛbhus*, the *Maruts*, the *Aṅgirases*, the *Virūpas*, the *Navagvas*, the *Daśagvas*, the *Atharvans*, the *Bhṛgus* and the *Kuśikas*. The *Ṛbhus* are of uncertain parentage. Too very frequently[24] they are called sons of Sudhanvan; but they are also known as sons of Indra (*indrasya sūno*)[25] and children of Manu (*manor napātaḥ*).[26] Agni is once called their brother (RV. I. 161.1). Nor is there unanimity of opinion among scholars regarding their nature. HILLEBRANDT[27] sees in them the "three seasons" (*ṛtavaḥ*), and WEBER[28] the genii of the past, present and future. KEITH finds fault[29] with both these theories saying that the evidence adduced in each case 'forbids any certainty or even probability', but the same objection applies to the view maintained by him[30] as well as MACDONELL[31] that these *Ṛbhus* might originally have been terrestrial or aerial elves who won their way to divinity. BERGAIGNE almost hits the mark when he says[32] that these should be *three* ancient sacrificers whose skill brought them immortality and whose number is in correspondence with the sacrificial fires. But there is enough evidence in the Veda to show that the Ṛbhus were originally mortals and that they attained their divinity and a share of the sacrifice through exhibition of their unusual skill.[33] The third or evening libation

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[22] The view is also stated that even the gods are not *immortal* by nature, but that this is a later achievement of theirs, either as a result of drinking *soma* (RV. IX. 106.8) or of the bounty of *Savitṛ* (RV. IV. 54.2), or *Agni* (RV. VI. 7.4).

[23] RV. X. 154. 2-5.

[24] RV. I. 161.2, 7, 8; 110.4; III. 60.4; 35.1 and so on.

[25] RV. IV. 37.4. [26] RV. III. 60.3.

[27] *Vedische Mythologie*, III. 135-54.

[28] *Vedische Beiträge*, cited by KEITH, *op. cit.*, I. 178. [29] *Op. cit.*, p. 177 f.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 178. [31] *Vedic Mythology*, p. 134.

[32] *La Religion Védique*, II. 412. [33] RV. I. 20.1, 8; 121.6 7.

(*savana*) belongs to them as a reward for their merit.[34]

The feats performed by the Ṛbhus are numerous ; but *five* seem to be specially conspicuous for their dexterity, and these are considered to have been responsible for their attainment to divinity. Each of these feats is enumerated in the following verse (RV. IV. 34.9) in the most laconical way :

Yé aśvinā yé pitárā yá ūtí dhenúm tatakṣúr ṛbhávo yé áśvā |
Ye aṁsatrā yá ṛdhag ródasī yé víbhvo náras svapatyáni cakruḥ ||

The verse seems to speak first of the fashioning of the Aśvins themselves by the Ṛbhus, but what is to be understood here is the car which was fashioned by the latter for the use of the former, an event which has been celebrated very often elsewhere[35] in the Ṛgveda in most unambiguous terms. The uniqueness of the car consists in that it is able to traverse space horseless, reinless and with only three wheels (RV. IV. 36.1). The 'fashioning of the parents' refers to the skill with which they rejuvenated their parents (RV. I. 20.4 ; 111.1 ; IV. 35.5) who were frail and lay like decaying posts (RV. I. 110.8. ; IV. 33.2, 3) and who, after treatment by the *Ṛbhus*, became young again (RV. I. 161.3, 7) so that they could walk (RV. IV. 36.3). The next feat of fashioning the milch-cow (*ūtī dhenum tatakṣuḥ*) should be a cryptic reference to the story that these Ṛbhus formed out of hide (RV. I. 110.8) or extracted from it (RV. I. 161.7) a cow which yields nectar (RV. I. 20.3) which is all stimulating and omniform (RV. IV. 33.8). The cow seems to have been formed for the sake of Bṛhaspati, and the Ṛbhus are said to have also guarded her and formed her flesh (RV. IV. 33.4). The story that the Ṛbhus reunited the mother with her calf may also be a variant recension of the above episode. For Indra, the Ṛbhus are reported to have fashioned two bay steeds (*harī*)[36] and this is the feat referred to by the phrase *ye aśvā* in the verse under consideration. The expression *ye aṁsatrā cakruḥ* is interpreted by Sāyaṇa to mean that the Ṛbhus manufactured armour for the use of the gods (*aṁsatrāṇi kavacāni devebhyaś cakruḥ*). The separation of Heaven and Earth is obviously another method of expressing the idea that the Ṛbhus established the two worlds.

Besides the feats recorded by the verse above, there is one more which is too very frequently mentioned, perhaps with the idea that it is the greatest. This is the making of one cup, manufactured by *Tvaṣṭṛ* into four (RV. I. 20.6 ; IV. 35.2, 3 ; 36.4 etc.). The Ṛbhus are said to have performed the feat having been commissioned to do so by the gods through Agni, their messenger, and the promised fee is receipt of worship on an equal footing with the gods (RV. I. 161.1, 2). According to one version, Tvaṣṭṛ seems to have approved

[34] RV. I. 161.8 ; IV. 33.11 ; 34.4 ; 35.9 ; cf. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (III. 30.2) which speaks of them as men who, by austerity (*tapas*) obtained a right to partake of *soma* along with the gods.

[35] RV. I. 20.3 ; 161.6 ; X. 39.12 and so on.

[36] The same thing may be meant when the *Ṛbhus* are represented as desiring to make a horse or as having made horse after horse (RV. I. 161. 3, 7).

of this feat (RV. IV. 33.5, 6), while another goes on to say that he got so enraged that he would fain slay these desecrators of the goblet of the gods (RV. I. 161.4, 5). Among other minor feats of the Ṛbhus may be mentioned the accounts given of their having fashioned prayer (RV. X. 80.7), sacrifice (RV. III. 54.12) and of their being supporters of the sky (X. 66.10).

By these feats they acquired immortality[37] and became gods, alighting like eagles in Heaven (RV. IV. 35.8). By their energy they mounted to Heaven (RV. I. 110.6) and traversing by the path of immortality to the host of the gods (IV. 35.3), not merely obtained immortality among them but also gained their friendship,[38] so much so that they are often expressly invoked as gods (RV. IV. 36. 5 ; 37.1).

As in the case of the Ṛbhus, the nature of the *Maruts* is also complex. KUHN, BENFEY,[39] MEYER,[40] SCHROEDER,[41] and HILLEBRANDT,[42] arguing on the doubtful basis of etymology, hold these *Maruts* to be no more than personifications of the souls of the dead ; but from the evidence available in the Veda it does not seem safe to conclude anything more than that they were originally priests who rose to divinity by merit. They are several times[43] called singers, and are said to have made the sun shine through their songs (RV. VIII. 29.10). When in the company of Indra, they are addressed as priests (RV. V. 29.3) and are compared with priests (RV. X. 78.1). They are said to be the first to perform the sacrifice as *Daśagvas* (RV. II. 36.2), and while the *Bhṛgus* only kindled Agni, they are said to have purified him in the house of the pious (RV. X. 122.5). The merit acquired thus brought them divinity (RV. I. 85.7) and enabled them to drink *soma*.[44]

The *Aṅgirases* seem to be the most important of the Vedic ancestors. Not only does their name occur over *sixty* times in the RV., but also one entire hymn (RV X. 62) is specially devoted to their praise. They seem to derive their name from *Aṅgiras* who was their ancestor, for they are sometimes called sons of Aṅgiras (*aṅgirasaḥ sūnavaḥ*).[45] There is also the usual controversy regarding their nature. To HILLEBRANDT[46] their non-prominence in the "Family Books" is proof enough to conclude that they were originally outside Vedic tradition on entering which they carried with them their ancestors as semi-divine. WEBER[47] positively declares them to be priests of the earlier Indo-Iranian period. ROTH and BÖHTLINGK[48] understand them to be

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[37] RV. III. 60.3 ; I. 110.4. [38] RV. IV. 33.3, 4 ; 35.3 ; 36.4.

[39] *Orient und Occident* on RV. I. 6.4, cited by KEITH, *op. cit.*, I. 152 and MACDONELL, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

[40] *Indogermanische Mythen*, I. 218, cited by KEITH, *loc. cit.*

[41] WZKM., IX. 248-9, cited by MACDONELL, *loc. cit.*

[42] *Vedische Mythologie*, III. 317, cited by KEITH, *loc. cit.*

[43] RV. V. 52.1 ; VII. 35. 9 etc. [44] RV. II. 36.2 ; VIII. 83. 9-12 etc.

[45] RV. X. 62.5. [46] *Op. cit.*, II. 159 ff. [47] *Indische Studien*, I. 291 ff.

[48] *Sanskrit Wörterbuch*, I. 55 ; Cf. BERGAIGNE, *op. cit.*, II. 309 ; OLDENBERG, *Die Religion des Veda*, p. 127 ; KAEGI, *Rigveda*, p. 42 n.; MACDONELL, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

a race of higher beings between gods and men, whose priestly character is a later development (*ein Geschlecht hoherer wesen, das zwischen Göttern und Menschen steht*) Their description in the Veda warrants at least the conclusion that they were originally priests who, by exhibition of special merit, were later deified. The seers most frequently call them 'fathers' (*pitaraḥ*),[49] 'our fathers' (*naḥ pitaraḥ*),[50] and 'our ancient fathers' (*naḥ pūrve pitaraḥ*).[51] On one occasion (RV. X. 14.6), they are mentioned as fathers with *Atharvans* and *Bhṛgus*, and seem to be specially associated with Yama (RV. X. 14. 3-5). They are also once called *brahman* priests (RV. VII. 42 1). They found Agni hidden in the wood (RV. V. 11.6) and thought of the first ordinance of sacrifice (RV. X. 67.2). By virtue of their sacrifice, they obtained Indra's friendship as well as immortality (RV. X. 62. 1). Such seems to be their intimacy with Indra that the latter is twice (RV. I. 100.4 ; 130.3) called chief Aṅgiras (*aṅgirastama*).[52] After they attained immortality, *soma* was offered to them (RV. IX. 62.9) and they were invoked even as gods (RV. III. 53.7 ; X. 62).

Intimately connected with the Aṅgirases are the *Virūpāḥ*, the *Navagvāḥ* and the *Daśagvāḥ*. The name of the first group occurs *nine* times in the RV. Since, as an adjective, the word means 'one of variable form' and, as a noun, is always found along with the Aṅgirases, it is possible to infer that the *Virūpāḥ* may be only an attribute of the Aṅgirases, and, if this is not possible, at least a variety of them.[53]

The *Navagvas* are mentioned 14 times in the RV., while the *Daśagvas* are mentioned only 7 times. According to Sāyaṇa, these two words are the appellatives given to some groups of the Aṅgirases. In a contest[54] for the acquisition of Heaven between the *Ādityas* and the *Aṅgirases*, the latter seem to have won ; a group of Aṅgirases completed the sacrifice in 9 days and were thereafter called the *Navagvas*, while another group which completed the same in 10 days was designated *Daśagvas* (*ādityānām aṅgirasām ca svargagamanam prati spardhamānānām madhye pūrvam evāṅgiraso yāgān anuṣṭhāya svargam prāptāḥ ... aṅgiraso dvidhāḥ satrayāgam anutiṣṭhanto ye navabhir māsais samāpya gatās te navagvāḥ ... ye te daśabhir māsais samāpya jagmus te daśagvāḥ*).[55] BLOOMFIELD explains[56] the two names by saying that

[49] RV. X. 62.2. [50] RV. I. 71.2. [51] RV. I. 62.2.

[52] *Soma* (RV. IX. 107.6) and *Uṣas* (RV. VII. 75.1 ; 79.3) get the same appellation. *Agni* is once (RV. I. 127.2) called the best or oldest of the Aṅgirases (*jyeṣṭham aṅgirasām*).

[53] Cf. KEITH, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

[54] This is only hinted in RV. II. 34.12 though not quite clearly ; but in later literature this story is described quite elaborately. See *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*, III. 187 f. ; II. 115. 17 ; *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VI. 34 f. *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* XXX. 6 ; *Pañcaviṁśa*, XVI. 12.1 ; *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, XVIII. 22 ff.

[55] Sāyaṇa on RV. II. 34.12 and I. 62.4.

[56] JAOS., XVI., p. cxxv ; *American Journal of Philology*, XVII. 426, cited by KEITH, *loc. cit.* Cf. BERGAIGNE, *op. cit.*, II. 145.

they denote the winners of 9 and 10 cows respectively. MACDONELL takes[57] them to mean people moving in groups of 9 and 10. Whatever be the etymological significance of the terms, it is clear that the *Navagvas* and the *Daśagvas* are only varieties of the Aṅgirases. This is clearly expressed by one verse (RV. X. 62.6) which calls each of them 'chief Aṅgiras' (*aṅgirastama*). Like the Aṅgirases, the Navagvas are spoken of as 'our ancient fathers' (*naḥ pūrve pitaraḥ*),[58] and as 'our fathers' (*naḥ pitaraḥ*),[59] and like them help Indra in finding out the cows.[60]

Twice only does the name of the *Daśagvas* occur independently and they are usually associated with the *Navagvas* in their diverse activities.[61] They are the first to have offered sacrifice (RV. II. 34.12) and are said to have assisted Indra in discovering the sun (RV. III. 39.5). It must be out of gratitude for all this help of the *Daśagvas* that Indra is once (RV. VIII. 12.2) reported to have rescued one of them, *Adhrigu* by name, from his enemies. As the name *Daśagva* occurs less frequently in the RV. than the name *Navagva*, it is sometimes[62] held that the former name is only a numerical variation of the latter, fashioned at a later stage; but the fact that their distinctive feat of discovering the sun is attributed to the Aṅgirases in one verse (RV. VIII. 29.10) shows that the *Daśagvas* must be a recognized group among the Aṅgirases.

14 are the occurrences of the name *Atharvan* in the Ṛgveda, 11 times in the singular and only 3 times in the plural. The word occurs more than 20 times in the AV. also. The *Atharvans* generally appear in the character of priests. That they are only a variety of the *pitaraḥ* is clear from the fact that they are enumerated as such along with the *Aṅgirases*, the *Navagvas*, and the *Bhṛgus* (RV. X. 14, 6). They are said to have established the order of sacrifices (RV. X. 92.10), to have thence produced the sun (RV. I. 83.5) and to have brought a cup of *soma* to Indra (AV. XVIII. 3.54); and the merit acquired by the performance of these deeds is obviously responsible for their being able to dwell in Heaven, to be companions of the gods, to be related to them, nay to be called gods even (AV. IV. 1.7; XI, 6.13).

Along with the *Atharvans*, the *Bhṛgus* are also mentioned among the fathers (RV. X. 14.6). Their name occurs 23 times in the RV. While the skill of the Atharvans consists in having established rites with sacrifices, the Bhṛgus established Agni like a friend well-deposited in wood (RV. VI. 15.2)

[57] *Op. cit.*, p. 144, based on Yāska's explanation of the term to mean *navagatayaḥ* (See *Nirukta*, XI. 10). Yāska takes the word also in the sense of *navanītagatayaḥ*. According to *Durga* (See commentary on *Nirukta*, XI. 19), *navagatayaḥ* means 'those of new gait' and *navanītagatayaḥ* 'those whose mind is on butter.'

[58] RV. VI. 22.2. [59] RV. X. 14.6.

[60] RV. I. 62.3, 4; V. 29.12; 45.7; III. 39.5; X. 108.8.

[61] See for instance, RV. V. 29.12 where along with the *Navagvas* they assist Indra in detecting the cows.

[62] MACDONELL, *loc. cit.*

or as a treasure among men (RV. I. 58.6). Agni is even called the gift of the Bhṛgus (RV. III. 2.4). By the demonstration of such skill, they are said to have shown themselves as gods (RV. X. 92.1).

The name of the *Kuśikas* occurs 9 times in the RV., once only in the singular and for the remaining times in the plural. The contexts in which their name occurs in the Veda make it clear that they are priests like the Atharvans or the Bhṛgus. They chant hymns in praise of Agni (RV. III. 26) and the Rivers (RV. III. 33.5), and, with the aspiration to reach heaven they are said to have prepared a hymn (*vāhaḥ akran*) in praise of Indra (RV. III. 30. 20).

So far those that obtained immortality by their merit were enumerated. Immortality is often spoken of as a gift of the gods for those worshippers who propitiate them. *Agni*[63] and *Soma*[64] render mortals immortal (*amṛtāḥ*). The *Maruts* are besought to make their worshippers immortal (RV. V. 55.4), and one of the gifts sought by the devotees of *Mitra* and *Varuṇa* is immortality (RV. V. 63.2). The exhilarating and invigorating effect of the soma-drink has often called forth some of the latent powers of poetic imagination of the Vedic bards. *Soma* is called by them the immortal stimulant (*amartyam madam*),[65] which the gods love (RV. IV. 85.2) and of which, when pressed by men and mixed with milk, all the gods drink (RV. IX. 109.15). The soma juice is immortal (*amartyaḥ*),[66] and the gods became immortal after drinking it (RV. IX. 106.8). In fact so much is the estimation of this soma-juice that it is often called *amṛta*, the nectar of immortality.

Time and again, we also hear in the RV. of certain seers desiring to reach the highest station of *Viṣṇu* and experience the delights available there (RV. I. 154. 5, 6).

So far those eligible for immortality were enumerated. What actually the Vedic seers understood by *immortality* will have to be considered hereafter. It is an obvious fact that the word most used to convey this meaning is *amṛta*. This word occurs slightly over 220 times in the Rgveda in its numerous declensional variations. In the majority of cases, the word is taken by Sāyaṇa to mean 'that which is not mortal' (*amaraṇaśīla, maraṇadharmarahita, maraṇarahita*). The other senses in which it is understood by him are 'god' (*deva*), 'liberation' (*mokṣa, sāyujya*), continuity of the race (*santatyavicchedа*), heaven (*svarga*), the *soma* drink called also divine drink (*devapāna*), nectar (*pīyūṣa, payas*), or herbal juice (*sudhā*), water (*udaka*), food (*anna*), ghee (*ghṛta*), oblation (*havis*), sun (*sūrya*), fruit of deeds (*karmaphala*), free from fatigue (*ālasyarahita*), imperishability,

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[63] RV. I. 31.7.

[64] RV. I. 91.1 ; VIII. 48.3.

[65] RV. I. 84.4.

[66] RV. IX. 3.1.

[67] RV. VIII. 44.16, 23 ; G. DUMEZIL in his *Le Festin d'Immortalite* holds that the myth narrating the winning of the drink of immortality is Indo-European. GELDNER (*Festgruss an Roth*, p. 192) maintains that in *two* hymns of the RV. (I. 163 ; V. 2.3) there is a clear reference to this story. For a refutation of these views, see KEITH, *op. cit.*, II. 623 ff.

eternality (*avināśitva, nityatva*). ROTH and BÖHTLINGK[68] give the following meanings to the word : (i) *nicht gestorben* (not dead) ; *unsterblich* (immortal); *ein unsterbliches, gottahnliches, wesen* (an immortal, godlike existence); *unvergänglich* (imperishable). (ii) *ein berauschendes Getrank* (an intoxicating drink) (iii) *das unsterbliche, die gesammtheit der unsterblichen* (the immortal, the whole group of immortals). GRASSMANN,[69] BENFEY,[70] and GELDNER[71] give almost the same meanings.

From the foregoing discussion, it is obvious that the state of immortality was for the Vedic Indian no more than a continued existence after death in the company of the gods, enjoying in full all their privileges.[72] It was a sort of apotheosis which meant to the individual a transfer of existence from earth to higher realms, and a transformation from mortality to divinity. In this state, he exercised influence over those whom he left behind, receiving worship from them godlike and conferring benefits on the devoted among them in a similar capacity. This is what is meant when the *Ṛbhus* and others of their category are often said to have become gods by their skilful deeds (*devāso abhavatā sukṛtyā*).[73] The idea also occurs that immortality is attained if the line of succession is unbroken (RV. V. 4.10, VIII. 31.9), but such cases are few and far between ; and, if *soma*,[74] ghee, or oblation was called *amṛta* it is because the offering of these in sacrifices was responsible for attainment of the state of divinity.

As regards the destination of these immortals, there are also some indications in the Ṛgveda. Man is said to become immortal by the solar ray (*upāmśunā sam amṛtatvam ānaṭ*).[75] In another context, *Sūryā* is asked to ascend the chariot which is bound for the world of immortals (RV. X. 85.20). Passages like these show that immortality has some special connection with the solar phenomena ; but the belief also seems to exist that it is in the solar world that the immortals take up their residence. All immortals are thus said to hang on *Savitṛ* as on the axle-end of a chariot (RV. I. 35.6). *Viṣṇu*, a solar divinity, keeps the loftiest station, upholding dear immortal places (RV. III. 55.10), and the wise seers always look forward with fond hopes to reach these dear abodes (*tad viṣṇoḥ paramam padam sadā paśyanti sūrayaḥ*).[76]

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[68] *Sanskrit Wörterbuch*, I. 378 f. [69] *Wörterbuch zum Rigveda*, p. 94 f.

[70] *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 45.

[71] *Der Rigveda in Auswahl* (*Glossar*), p. 14.

[72] Cf. GELDNER (*Ibid.*) who takes immortality (*amṛtatva*) to mean either immortality (*unsterblichkeit*) or godliness (*Gottlichkeit*).

[73] RV. IV. 35.8 ; cf. also RV. III. 60.3 ; IV. 33.4 ; 36.4 and so on.

[74] Drinking of *soma* is sometimes said to bring immortality (RV. VIII. 48.3). The reference in such cases must be to the invigorating effect of the juice which incites and assists further sustained activity ; cf. RV. I. 62.10 where the word *amṛtāḥ* is rendered by Sāyaṇa to mean *ālasyarahitāḥ*.

[75] RV. IV. 58.1. [76] RV. I. 22.20 ; cf. also I. 154.5, 6.

SOME LINGUISTIC PECULIARITIES OF THE BHĀGAVATA

By

Shrimati SUSHILA MEHTA, M.A., LL.B.

WHEN in any speech-community, two considerably divergent forms of speech —one for literary, religious or some such special use and the other for the ordinary day-to-day dealings—are current at once, the inter-influence of these two forms becomes a matter of course. From this point of view, complex linguistic conditions obtaining in the ancient Mediæval Northern India furnish us with interesting cases for study, as throughout that period, forms of speech used for the literary and the common purpose were different. In this connection, increasingly more and more evidence is forthcoming which lays bare the wide extent of the influence of the contemporary vulgar tongues on the high literary polish of the language of the Vedic and of the classical Sanskrit literature. Even the earliest extant specimen of Old Indo-Aryan, viz., the dialect of the *Ṛgveda* slyly harbours some vulgarisms and provincialisms.[1] The language of such an *Upaniṣad* as the *Muṇḍaka*, too, has not escaped similar encroachments.[2] Approaching the classical times, we can distinguish three other varieties of Sanskrit besides the standard one, wherein the rigidity of the classical norm is slackened through the contagion of the Middle Indo-Aryan tendencies. EDGERTON'S studies are instructive from the point of view of the Prakritic influence on the Buddhist Sanskrit.[3] Jain Sanskrit is another popular variety, though comparatively meagre attention has been paid to its study and as such a systematic and thorough approach appears now quite overdue.[4] The third variety of popular Sanskrit is furnished by the language of the Epics and the Purāṇas. The critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* is now putting the study of its language on a thoroughly scientific basis.[5] Similar spade-work in the case of the Purāṇas remains a desideratum, and as such though the crude beginning stage of the

[1] WACKERNAGEL : *Altindische Grammatik*. I, (1896), Einleitung, pp. xvii-xxi ; KEITH : *A History of Sanskrit Literature* (1928), pp. 3-4. Studies of Vedic variants and repetitions by BLOOMFIELD and EDGERTON too, throw considerable light on this point.

[2] Vidhushekhara BHATTACARYA : *A Linguistic Note on the Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad*, *IHQ*, March 1941, pp. 89-91.

[3] *Vide* : EDGERTON'S articles. (i) *BSOS*, Vol. VIII, pp. 501-516. (*ii*) *HJAS*, Vol. I, pp. 65-83. (iii) *JAOS*, Vol. LVII, pp. 16-34. (iv) '*Language*', Vol. XIII, pp. 107-122. (v) *Kuppusvami Commemoration Vol.*, pp. 39-45, etc.

[4] BLOOMFIELD : *Some aspects of Jain Sanskrit*, *Festschrift J. Wackernagel* (1923) pp. 220-230.

[5] Several articles on various points of Epic grammar, especially a study of verb-variants by KULKARNI, have appeared in different numbers of the *Bulletin of D. C. R. I.*

Purānic research and the consequent drawbacks of any linguistic study based thereon are quite apparent, the following rough and slipshod attempt at pointing out certain linguistic peculiarities of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* is made simply to give a somewhat concrete idea of the sort of Sanskrit found in the Purāṇas. In this also, an important reservation is to be made. Over and above those linguistic traits which the *Bhāgavata* exhibits in its capacity as a part of puranic literature, it has some other traits which are peculiarly its own. And these latter traits cannot be expected to have any parallels in other *purāṇas*. This debars us from taking the language of the *Bhāgavata* as quite a model for the Puranic Sanskrit. But on the other hand, this *purāṇa* enjoys an advantage, which seems to be denied to the others of its kind. It is characterized by a certain amount of homogeneity and as such would offer results more reliable than would have been in the case of some other *purāṇa* with a complicated text-formation.

The references are to the edition of Gopal Narayan & Co., text with Śrīdhara's commentary, edited by Vasudeva Balacharya AINAPURE, 1898.

I. ARCHAISMS[6]

(i) *Lexical* :

añjas- (XI. ii. 34), "with ease."

abhirambhita- (V. viii. 16) "obtained", in contrast with the classical *abhi√labh-* occurring elsewhere. Cf. *Prahrāda* infra.

amatra- [n] (XI. viii. 11) "cup." (Vedic sense "long drinking vessel."). Monier WILLIAMS (MW) notes *amatraka-* also as occurring in the Bh. P.

annādya- [n]. (VII. xi. 10) "food." The word is quite usual in the *Brāhmaṇas*. Gujarati *anāja* is its evolute.

ayasmaya- (XI. i. 17) "made of iron" as against the classical *ayomaya-*

asutṛp- (IV. xxix. 53) "enjoying one's life," and hence, "devoted to worldly pleasures." Its Vedic sense "profiting by another's life," is considerably different. So, the present word is probably independently coined.

ārupita- (X. lxxxvii. 25). The only other occurrence is *Ṛgveda* IV. 5. 7. But there the sense is different.

ina- [m.] (X. vi. 22) "master."

iṣ- [f.] (VI. iv. 8) "refreshment."

karta- [n.] (XI. v. 42) "separation, distribution." (According to comm : "deed") In the *Ṛgveda* it means "cavity, hole."

gṛbhīta- (X. lxxxvii. 14), "caught." Metrical necessity gives us once (III. xxi. 4) *gṛbhita-* also.

gopītha- [m.] (V. xx. 41 ; X. lx. 2) "protection."

carṣaṇīnām (X. xxix. 2) "of men, of people."

citravāja (IV. x. 11) "possessing diverse gifts."

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[6] Cf. HOPKINS : *The Great Epic of India* (1901), pp. 262-263.

chambaṭkarī- f. v. l. *chamaṭkarī-* (III. xviii. 26) "ruining." Used generally in the *Brāhmaṇas* and in Jain Sanskrit.

tata° in *tatadruh-* (I. xviii. 38 ; V. i. 11) "father".

dhiṣṭhitam (I. ix. 42 ; XII. ix. 32) "situated." It occurs also in *Bhagavad Gītā*, XIII. 17.

nasi, loc. sing. (V. i. 13) "in the nose." Mainly Vedic.

nṛmṇa- (IV. viii. 46) "beneficent" according to some comm : Others, following the *Nighaṇṭu* take it to mean "wealth." In the Veda, it is known in the sense of "manhood, power, strength."

nṛṣadringirām (V. vii. 14) occurs in an apparently Vedic quotation. Analyzed by comm : as *nṛṣad* + *ringi* + *rā*, signifying "motivating the intellect."

peśa- m (X. lxx. 27) "ornament." In this sense it is found in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* also.

Prahrāda- m (IV. xviii. 16, etc.) besides the usual *Prahlāda* retains the archaic *r*. Cf. *abhirambhita* supra.

mahi- m.n. in *mahiṇa* (XI. iv. 7) "greatness." In the Vedic literature the word is known only in the sense of "great."

mithitvā (IV. xxix. 53) "having united". Vedic.

rādhas- n (IX. xxiv. 33) "success". "Gift" is the Vedic meaning.

vaṅkri- f. (V. xxiii. 6) "rib." Vedic.

vanīyas- (I. xix. 36) "obtaining most." Vedic.

vayuna- n (IV. xxiii. 12) "wisdom, knowledge." Its Vedic sense is "mark, aim." MW records its another occurrence in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* as an adjective meaning "clear." Cf. Ṛgvedic *avayuna-* "indistinct." The feminine form *vayunā-* (IV. ix. 8) appears to be manufactured under the stress of metre.

vāśrā- f. (IV. ix. 17 ; X. xlvi. 9) "(bellowing) cows." Vedic.

śumbhanti (X. xxxviii. 12) "shine." Present forms of √*śumbh-* occur in the *Ṛgveda*.

sadhryak- (IV. xxii. 21 ; X. xxxii. 38) "right, correct."

sarasvat° m. in *sarasvatsalila-* (IV. xiv. 36), if the v.l. *sarayū* is to be rejected, seems to stand for *sarasvatī-*. In *Ṛgveda* X. 66. 5, we come across this curious male counterpart of the goddess Sarasvatī.

sahasaḥ sahīyān (XI. xxiii. 48) "overpowerer of the mighty." A Vedic phrase. Cf. *Ṛgveda*, X. 176. 4.

hṛdayya- (XI. xx. 29) "dear to the heart." In the Vedic literature the usual sense is "heartfelt."

(ii) *Morphological* :

ātman (II. v. 5 ; II. v. 21 ; III. xxi. 19 ; IV. xxii. 24 ; V. xxv. 9) loc. sing. of *ātman-* m. Such locatives with the *i* of the termination dropped are

confined to the Vedic language only.[7] The frequency of occurrence indicates that the author has used this form with a set purpose.

bhagavaḥ (V. vi. 1, etc.) voc. sing. of *bhagavan-* quite common in the *Brāhmaṇas*. Here, purposely archaic.

bhasman (I. xv. 21) loc. sing. of *bhasman-*[8]. Cf. *ātman* supra.

asrāk (IV. vii. 14) Aorist 2nd person sing. of √*sṛj-*. This form occurs in the *Ṛgveda* only twice viz. at IV. 53. 3 and 4. But there it is used with *pra* and as third person sing.

duḥkhahatyai (XI. iii. 18) Brahmanic infinitive of purpose.

mṛtyujityai (XII. viii. 41). Brahmanic infinitive of purpose. Cf. *duḥkhahatyai* supra.

rātave (IV. xvii. 11) Vedic dative infinitive form from √*rā-* "to bestow." MW incorrectly notes it as occurring in the *Ṛgveda*. The commentator Vijayadhvaja incorrectly and unnecessarily renders it by *maraṇāya*.

hantave (IV. xix. 15; XI. v. 15) Vedic dative infinitive form from √*han-* "to kill". Cf. *rātave* supra.

(iii) *Constructional* :

In V. xv. 16, *akarot* is separated from its pre-verb *alam* ; in V. xi. 7 and VI. ix. 28, *bhavati* and *abhūt* respectively are separated from *āviḥ* ; while in X. lxxii. 4 and X. lxxxvii. 27, *ye* intervenes between *pari* and *caranti*.[8]

II. EPICISMS.[9]

(i) *Padavyatyaya* or *Charge in the Pada* :

āstu (V. xx. 12). Paras. for Atm., if from √*as-*. Rare, if it is to be derived from *ā* + √*as-*. If the variant *astu* is to be adopted, there is absence of *sandhi* with the previous *naḥ*.

tṛpye (XI. iii. 2). Atm. for Paras.

patamāna- (X. lxxii. 20) "falling." Atm. for Paras.

(ii) *Dropping of the augment* :

avatārayat (XI. i. 1) for *avā°*

vyavadhāt (I. vi. 4) for *vyavā°*. Cf. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 8. 163[10]

samindhata (X. iii. 3) for *samai°*.

(iii) *Sporadic Cases* :

mā akṛthāḥ (XI. v. 50) for *mā kṛthāḥ*. Irregular retention of the augment.

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[7] WHITNEY, *Sanskrit Grammar* (1896), § 425c.

[8] Cf. for the Vedic language, MACDONELL, *A Vedic Grammar for Students* (1916), §191 f.

[9] By "Epicisms" are here meant those forms which, though not classical, are quite common in the Sanskrit of the Epics and the Purāṇas. HOPKINS calls it dialectic Sanskrit and as is shown at various relevant places, it exhibits some traces of the popular Prakrit speeches. It will be noted that in every case one cannot be quite sure whether a particular form belongs to the Epic Sanskrit or is a result of poetic license.

[10] HOPKINS, *The Great Epic*, p. 265.

A doubtful case is of *mā ... adāḥ* (VII. v. 28)—doubtful because the analysis of *kad adāḥ* there as *kad* + *adāḥ* is not certain.

luṭhanti (I. xv. 18) simple for the causative.

ajuhavīt (I. xv. 42)
bruvāṇi (X. xxii. 10) } low grade for the high grade.

visismyuḥ (X. lxxxiv. 1) for *visismiyuḥ*.

paryuṣṭa- (XI. vi. 12) "faded, withered." p. p. p. from √*vas-* with *pari*. Thus √*vas-* is treated as an *aniṭ* root.

sāntvayya (X. lxv. 24) for *sāntvayitvā*.

āpaḥ in *kauśikyāpaḥ* (I. xviii. 36) acc. pl. from *ap-*. Sch. explains this as *kauśikyaḥ apaḥ*, i.e., a case of irregular *sandhi*, but it is more probable that here for the accusative the strong base *āpaḥ* is used instead of *apaḥ* and a compound is made up of *kauśikī* + *āpaḥ*. Cf. *mātariśvanaḥ* infra.

dhiyaḥ (IV. xvi. 2). The context is *pauruṣāṇi .... dhiyaḥ babhramuḥ*. According to Śridhara, this should be construed as *pauruṣāṇi dhiyaḥ* (*prati avitarkyatayā*) *babhramuḥ*; while Vijayadhvaja explains it as *pauruṣāṇi* (*varṇayitum*) *dhiyaḥ babhramuḥ*. Thus, both the commentators regard *dhiyaḥ* as nom. pl. and consequently they are forced to supply some extra words in order to get an intelligible meaning. It is far more reasonable to take *dhiyaḥ* as acc. pl. and consider this case on par with *mātariśvanaḥ* infra.

°*mātariśvanaḥ* (I. x. 23) nom. pl. from *mātariśvan-*. Sch. accounts for this as metrical shortening of °*mātariśvānaḥ*. Can it not be that here the weak base is employed instead of the strong one?

At various places, looseness in the use of tenses comes to our notice. Thus, *kurute* (IV. xiv. 31), and *tare* (V. x. 24), as also *nyahanişyat* (XI. iv. 22) are used in a future sense, while in the prose of the narrative in the fifth *skandha*, all the three past tenses have been indiscriminately used.

(iv) *Irregular Sandhi.*

kariṣyeti (XII. v. 2) for *kariṣye* + *iti*.
catvārośinara° (IX. xxiii. 3) for *catvāraḥ* + *uśinara*°.
tasyāgre (X. lxii. 32) for *tasyāḥ agre*.
nānarūpānurūpāḥ (I. x. 19) for *nānarūpāḥ* + *anurūpāḥ*.

III. PHONETIC LICENSES CALLED UPON BY THE EXIGENCY OF METRE.

(a) *Interference with the quantity*:

(i) *Lengthening*:
rūṣayaḥ (V. xvii. 21; VI. iii. 19).
pariṇūta- (I. viii. 44)
bhāgaṇam (IV. v. 11).
varīmabhiḥ (IV. xv. 26).
śatahṛdābhīḥ (XII. ix. 13).

(ii) *Shortening*:
°*akṣauhiṇika-* (III. iii. 14).
anāhuta- (IV. iii. 13).

gṛbhita- (III. xxi. 4).
tulasi° (III. xv. 49).
niśitha- (IV. xiii. 14).
bhiṣayanti- (X. ix. 11).
samāhuta- (III. iii. 3).
hṛṣika- (V. xviii. 19).

(b) *Anaptyxis* :

tanuvā (IV. v. 3) for *tanvā*.

triyavastha- (XI. xxviii. 20) for *tryavastha-*. Cf. *triyambaka*, *Kumārasambhava*, III. 44. It is also known to the *Rāmāyana* and earlier literature.

śruṇuvan (X. lii. 20) for *śruṇvan*.

suvaḥ (V. xx. 23) for *svaḥ*.

striyāśrama- (IV. xxix. 85) for *stryāśrama-*.

There are more than forty cases[11] where the conjunct with *r* as its first member is to be split up by inserting a vowel, as such a pronunciation is necessitated by the metre. In certain cases like *pāraṣada-* (I. xvi. 18) and *ahāraṣīt* (IV. xvi. 24), the actual text gives the conjuncts in the split-up form, and the Sch. have specially to draw our attention to them.

(c) *Apocope* :

it (V. ii. 13). Here we read *sara iti mukham te*. *it* is evidently a particle of comparison and all commentators have rendered it with *iva*. But MW records no such sense for *it*. This makes it probable that *it* may have been got by contraction from *iti*.

abibhrat (X. xxix. 40) Sch. equate this with *abibharuḥ*. It is *abibhrata*, with the apocopation of the final vowel.

(d) *Ignoring the final visarga* :

ura- (V. xii. 5) for *uraḥ*.

gāpayiṣyāma (IV. xv. 26) 1st pers. plu. 2nd fut. from *gāpay-*. Some commentators unnecessarily take this as standing for *gāpayiṣyāmi* and take pains to supply *aham* to achieve correct construction. Such visargaless forms are known to the Epics.[12]

nirandhaḥ (V. xiii. 6). This is nom. sing. and consequently here we have to assume *andha* as the base, besides the usual *as-* stem *andhas*. *andhas*, "food," though MW. does not record any such word.

IV. GRAMMATICAL IRREGULARITIES.

(i) *Irregular forms* :

kasmai (III. iv. 16 ; XII. xiii. 20) = *brahmaṇe*. When *ka-* means *brahman-* m. , it usually follows the nominal and not the pronominal declension.

[11] All these cases will be noted exhaustively in a separate section dealing with the study of the Bhāgavata Metre, which is under preparation.

[12] *Vide* : HOPKINS, *The Great Epic*, pp. 245, 264.

pipīpṛhi (IV. xix. 38) for the regular *pipṛhi*. This is Śrīdhara's reading. The commentator Vijayadhvaja reads *viśvasṛjaḥ atipipṛhi* instead of *viśvasṛjām pipīpṛhi* which appears more acceptable.

rirakṣā (IV. xv. 6) des. noun from √*rakṣ*-, instead of the regular *rirakṣiṣā*. (Vide : MW sub verbo).

(ii) *Irregular Compounds* :

trāsamāvaha- (IX. xi. 17) for *trāsāvaha*-.

svātmanrati- (III. iv. 16) for *svātmarati*-.

In *śatam ṣaṣṭiparva* (III. xxi. 18) also, for the compound *śataṣaṣṭiparva*, the accusative case-ending is irregularly retained.

V. CONSTRUCTIONAL IRREGULARITIES :

brahmakulam gavām ca (IV. xxi. 42) for *gavām kulam*.

sukumārā atadarhā ca yat padbhyām sparśanam bhuvaḥ (IV. xxiii. 19). The author means *padbhyām bhūsparśanasya anarhā*.

putraśatam kanyā ca jātam (V. xv. 15). A neuter predicate in singular for the compound neuter and feminine subject.

In X. xiv. 31, we read *yāsām stanyāmṛtam te atīva mudā pītam*. Apparently correct construction requires *tvayā* in the place of *te*.

mā ciram (XI. vi. 35), "do not tarry."

VI. WORDS OF LEXICAL INTEREST.

Under this heading, those words, that are of rare occurrence or unusual significance, are listed.

aga- (IV. xii. 32) "difficult to approach."

adhi (IV. vi. 30) = *adhikam*. Cf. *anti* = *antikam*.

adhisabhājayāmāsa (V. ii. 17) perf. form from √*sabhāj*- with *adhi*.

anughāsam (XI. ii. 42) "as he was eating", (lit. at each morsel).

anupraśānti (XI. v 12) "producing immediate tranquillity."

anusaṃsthā (V. ix. 7) "following in death." In this sense, it is not recorded by MW.

anti (III. iv. 26 ; VII. vii. 13 ; X. viii. 22 ; X. xii. 35 ; X. xxxi. 16) = *antikam*. Cf. *adhi* = *adhikam*.

apīcyavācaḥ (IV. xv. 23) "having pleasant speech." *Ṛgveda* knows *apīcya* in the sense of "secret, hidden."

abhi (IV. xviii. 2) "fearlessly."

ayātayāma- (IV. xiii. 27 ; IV. xix. 28) "newly composed." *yātayāma*- generally means "used, spoiled, useless." But MW notes for it the unusual sense of "exhausted, old, aged," also. This comes nearer to the present meaning.

araṇa- (V. x. 9, etc.) "refuge."

alaṃtama- (VI. xvii. 37) "very able to."

aṣṭi- f. (IV. xxviii. 36) "stone or kernel of a fruit."

ahamaḥ (XI. xxiii. 57 ; XII. vii. 11 ; XII. viii. 3) = gen. sing. of *aham* "ego." Perhaps, abbreviated from *ahamkāra-*.

ā + √*laṣ-* (V. xiii. 6) "to desire."

uccakaiḥ (VI. xiv. 47) "high, highly." Māgha is fond of using this word. Cf. *śanakaiḥ*.

uccacāṭa (V. ix. 17) "disappeared" from *ud* + √*caṭ-*.

uttamagāya- (IV. xii. 21) "striding best." A variation of *urugāya-*, the usual Vedic epithet of Viṣṇu.

*udu*ttama-* (V. v. 21) "the most high."

udvyudasyati (IV. vii. 44). Here √*as-* is prefixed with three preverbs, two of which are *ud*. The *Mahābhārata* knows of *atyatikrāmat*.[13]

ṛṣabha- (IV. xxv. 11) "husband." It is interesting to note that Gujarati *sāḍh* "ox" has similarly developed the sense "husband" though in that sense it is always used pejoratively.

ekala- (V. vii. 11 ; X. lxviii. 6) "lonely." Apabhraṁśa has *ekkalla-*, formed with °*lla-*.

ejatka- (X. vi. 41) "trembling, moving."

kaṭākṣepa- (X. xxxii. 6 ; X. lx. 30) "side-glance".

kaṭākṣipya (X. xxxvi. 10) "having looked at with a side-glance." Both are from an irregular compound verb got haplologically from *kaṭākṣa-* + *ā*√*kṣip-*. Cf. *priyākhya* in lieu of *priyākhyāya* cited by Patañjali.[14]

kadadāḥ (VII. v. 28). The whole phrase is *mā sma kadadāḥ*. The Sch. explain *kadadāḥ* as made up of *kad* and *adāḥ* rendering the former by *kutsitā*, i.e., "fault or misery." *kadanātmanā* is the *lexio simplicior*. Note also, the *bhāgavatakāra's* fondness for compounds with *kad*, e.g. *kadindriya* (X. lx. 35).

kātkṛta- (VI. vii. 11) "dishonoured."

kāmayāna- (IV. i. 6) "desiring." Irregular p.p. caus. from √*kam-*. Cf. *lālayāna* infra.

kāśiṣṇu- (IV. xxx. 6) "shining."

°*kuṇaka-* m. (V. viii. 25 ff) "young one" (of an animal).

kulaka (V. xvii. 2) "mass."

kṛṣṇasārasatī (V. viii. 6) "wife of the stag." *satī* for a beast female sounds strange!

kleśala- (X. xiv. 4) = *kleśa-*.

kṣveli (X. xix. 46 ; X. lx. 29 ; X. xc. 13) "play."

kṣvelikā (V. viii. 20) "play."

guruṇḍa- v.l. *suruṇḍa* (XII. i. 30) "name of a dynasty." Cf. *muruṇḍa-*.

ghṛṇālu- (IV. xxii. 23) "merciful."

jahu- (V. vii. 11) "young one" (of an animal).

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[13] HOPKINS, loc. cit., p. 476.

[14] KEITH, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 20.

jemana-[15] (X. xiv. 60) "eating." It may be noted that in the New Indo-Aryan stage, the old terms for "eating" derived from √*ad-*, √*aś-*, etc., have been substituted by the verbal roots derived from √*khād*, and √*jam* or √*jim*.

jhillikā- (X. xviii. 4) "cricket."

jhillī- (V. xiii. 5) "cricket."

taraṅga- m. (XI. i. 22). "wave."

tarṣa- m. (V. viii. 15) "yearning, eagerness." At XI. ii. 49, it means "thirst."

tarṣā (X. ix. 27) "thirst."

tīrthapādīyapādatīrtha° (IV. xxii. 11) "the holy feet of those worthy of worship."

dabhrabuddhi- (VI. vii. 11) "small-minded."

dārakī (IV. xxviii. 11) "daughter."

devara- (IV. xxvi. 26) "husband, lover."

niṣpāva- m. (V. xxi. 2) = *rājamāṣaḥ* (dolichos sinensis) acc. to the Sch.

niṣadana- (V. xiv. 7) "place."

paśumāram amārayat (IV. xiii. 41; X. xxxvii. 32). "Beat or killed like cattle." The commentator Vijayadhvaja, without any conceivable reason renders *paśumāra-* by *goghna-* i.e. *cāṇḍāla-*!

pārakya- (IV. vii. 43, 53; V. xiii. 12; VI. x. 10; VII. vii. 43; XI. ix. 25) "concerning or belonging to others." Gujarati *pārakũ* is its evolute.

puṃsavana- n. (V. xxiv. 15) "foetus."

pūrtayat (X. lxix. 34) "performing the meritorious deeds called *pūrta* 'act of pious liberality.'"

pothayāmāsa (X. xliv. 23) "dashed, crushed, killed." Generally, epic.

praveka- m. (VII. viii. 30) "chief."

prādhanika- n. (VII. x. 65) "Equipments for battle."

badvam badvam (X. lxx. 9) "very large number." Variously interpreted.

bahulīkaraṇa- (IV. iv. 12) "endeavouring to increase."

bahusava- (IV. xii. 14). Adjective to *kāla-*. It is synonymous with *bahutitha-* "much." The primary sense "offering many sacrifices" became generalized as "doing many things for many years," and hence, "much."

bhagavat-kalā-vīra-kulam (V. ix. 17). Interpreted by Śrīdhara as "the group of heroes (i.e. Brahmins) endowed with a portion of divinity."

bhasi (X. vi. 7) locative of *bhas-* n. (perhaps a shortened form for *bhasman-* n.) "ashes."

bhujiṣyā (VI. i. 59) "slave-girl, maid-servant."

māriṣa- m. (VI. v. 32; VI. xii. 24) "respectable man."

mithuḥ (XI. vi. 14) = *mithaḥ*, "mutually". *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* knows it in the sense of "falsely" only.

mithunīcārin- (XI. iii. 18) "living as couples."

[15] For NIA parallels, see TURNER: *Nepali Dictionary*, 216 *b* s. v. *jiunār*.

mṛḍa- (X. lxii. 4) "God Śiva."

rāsa- m. (V. viii. 22) "play."

ringamāṇa- (X. viii. 21) and *ringayāmāsa* (X. xxx. 16) from √*ring-* "move, crawl."

lālayāna- (VI. v. 23) "fondling." Cf. *kāmayāna-* supra.

√*luṭh-* (V. viii. 21) "touch" seems to be the meaning here, though the Sch. offer varying interpretations.

leṇḍa- [16] n. (X. xxxvii. 7) "excrement."

śanakaiḥ (XII. iv. 8, etc) = *śanaiḥ*. Frequent as in Māgha. Cf *uccaka-*.

śamala- n. (XI. v. 52) "impurity, sin."

śic- f. (VI. xii. 8) "cord of a shoulder-yoke, net."

śukla- m. (V. x. 16). Interpreted variously by the Sch. as Kapila, Nārayaṇa or Vāsudeva.

sajūḥ (VI. xviii. 67) "with."

sadhryak vimṛś- (IV. xxii. 21) "containing wholesome ideas." *samyag vimṛś-* is a v.l.

sampramoṣa- m. (VI. iv. 26) "loss."

sarogandha- m. (X. xiii. 5) "lotus fragrance." Most probably, abbreviated *metri causa* from *sarojagandha-*.

stobhitaḥ (X. xi. 7) "praised in successive shouts."

smāya- m. (XI. vi. 18) "smile."

sraji- in *srajivat-* (XI. xvii. 30) "garland."

Some noteworthy stray facts are: the verbal nouns *dṛśi* (V. ii. 11), *nandi* (IV. xv. 18) and *randhi* (V. x. 22); the Bāṇa-type variations of terms as *arbhaka-*, *kuṇaka-*, *jahu-*, *tanaya-*, *dāraka-*, *bālaka-*, and *suta-* in V. viii; fondness for desideratives and frequentatives from which to quote a few *ārirādhayiṣu-*, *jighṛkṣaḥ* *rirakṣiṣā-*, *saṃsisṛkṣat-*, *sisṛkṣā*, *jegīya-*, *pepīya-*, *leliha-*; use of *karmapravacanīyas* like *adhi* (V. xii. 6), *anu* (IV. ix. 12), *upa* (IV. xxviii. 42), etc.

As remarked at the outset, the language of the Epics and the Purāṇas reveals certain unmistakable Middle Indo-Aryan traits.[17] In the case of the *Bhāgavata*, these are discernible in the above-quoted cases of

(*i*) Thematisation;
(*ii*) confusion of *set* and *anit* roots;
(*iii*) confusion of the *pada*;
(*iv*) dropping of the augment;
(*v*) change of grades;
(*vi*) generalization of the strong form;
(*vii*) laxity in tense usages;
(*viii*) interference with the quantity;
(*ix*) prakritic vowel *samdhi*;

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[16] For NIA parallels, see, ibid., p. 555 b 22 s. v. *lī*.

[17] For the Epical linguistic peculiarities vide, KEITH, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 19-20.

(*x*) anaptyxis ;

(*xi*) ignorance of the final *visarga* ;

(*xii*) generous use of frequentatives ;

(*xiii*) change of gender ; (these are *kākiṇi-* [m.] XI. xxiii. 20 ; *tulasi-* [f.] III. xv. 49 ; *tarṣa-* [m.] V. viii. 15 ; *hṛṣīka°* XI. vi. 17).

(*xiv*) Words with the plaonistic suffixes °*ka*-, (*anantaka-* V. xiii. 44 ; *uccakaiḥ-* IV. xiv. 47 ; *ejatka-* X. vi. 4 ; *kalpakataru-* IV. ix. 9 ; *jhillikā-* X. xviii. 4 ; *tulasikā-* V. vii 11 ; XI. xxx. 41 ; *manorañjanaka-* IV. xvi. 15 ; *śanakaiḥ-* XII. iv. 8) and °*la*- ; (*ekala-* V. vii. 11 ; *kleśala-* X. xiv. 4 ; *śamala-* XI. v. 52).

(*xv*) Vocables quite rare in the classical stage but current in Middle Indo-Aryan or New Indo-Aryan stage (e.g., *uccacāḷa* V. ix. 1; *jemana-* X. xiv. 60 ; *pārakya-* IV. vii. 43, etc ; *leṇḍa-* X. xxxvii. 7).

In spite of these sundry Middle Indo-Aryan traits the language of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* is in no way simple and natural. There are not a few cases where the author has purposely striven to give an archaic tinge to his expressions. More than this, many a prominent trait of the pedantic *kāvya* style—" affectation and bombast, love of alliteration, use of recondite phraseology " and numerous figures of speech with a notable exception of *double entendre*—is met with apace in it. Hence, considerable portions of the work present a later overwraught form of Classical Sanskrit,[18] which affords a well-marked contrast with the chaste, more living and earlier model and which has proved quite congenial to the elaborate genius of Māgha and other epic-writers and rhetoricians.

[18] Cf. " Altindische und Mittelindische Miszellen," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. VIII, p. 852, where WACKERNAGEL rules out the evidences from the language of the *Bhāgavata* in considering certain " living " Sanskrit usages.

MODERN THOUGHT AND S. RADHAKRISHNAN

By

Shri ARVIND U. VASAVDA, M.A.

OUR outlook on the universe as a whole and life in general determines even the lowliest actions of our life. We understand man truly when we know his aims and ideals and the nature of his intimate relationship with the universe, i.e. when we know his philosophy. This applies equally to a nation. Every nation has a philosophy of its own reflecting its highest strivings and achievements. It is the gauge of a nation's spiritual strength and weakness.

In the dialogues of Plato and Socrates's queries in the market place, we get the true vision of what Greek civilization stood for at that period. In the precious single formula of *Tattvamasi* we have the glimpse into the spiritual awakening of India. It indicates the one all-permeating spiritual thirst of the age which reverberates through all ages and times.

The present age does not hold out a very optimistic future. The last war was waged in order to end all wars from the world and establish internationalism and world-peace. We are not shocked to-day to hear the roar of bombers and crashing of cities only 20 years after the last war, because selfish motives and personal gains still hold sway over the conquered nations.

The predominant interests of our age have remained essentially this-worldly, our scientific achievements and their practical application which gave us greater mastery over nature, our political and economical organisations necessitated by the growth of this knowledge made us too egotistical and pleasure-seeking to look beyond ourselves and the temporal.[1] The above causes worked gradually to turn the direction of the philosophic thought of the West from God and the Eternal to man and the temporal. Thus the last war did not give the necessary turn to philosophy which was so necessary.[2]

We, therefore begin with the period of revolt against Absolute Idealism and the consequent breaking of all spiritual ties in the philosophic thinking

[1] "Whatever the future may hold in store, whether on this earth, or elsewhere, contemporary British Thought is overwhelmingly concerned with the present and mainly mundane affairs....Even by religious teachers the kingdom of God is interpreted most frequently in terms of social welfare, brotherly harmony and co-operation here and now." *Contemporary Thought of G. Britain*, A. WIDGERY, p. 234.

[2] "There were those who during the World War thought that its tragedies would lead to a religious revival causing men to seek relief from the evil of the world in turning to the realities of spiritual life. Instead of this it is seen that many have centered their attention on material enjoyment." *Living Religion and Modern Thought*, A. WIDGERY, p. 9.

as the contemporary period in philosophy. The present civilization stands for democracy, industrialisation and imperialism. These factors worked for the decline of philosophic thinking. The systems like Pragmatism, Neo-Realism and Personalism arose each representing a revolt against Idealism in some respect. The whole trend of the revolt culminated in the Logical Positivism and Dialectical Materialism in which all the transcendental ideals were labelled as nonsense and Matter was made the supreme entity.

Pragmatism's main attack against Absolute Idealism is its theory of truth. A theory of truth as coherence, in which error is negated in the real and the Absolute is treated as the All-comprehensive Whole which takes over the finitudes and imperfections of man, strengthens—the Pragmatist says—despotism and autocracy in life and thought. Individual being, a part of the whole, has to surrender his freedom; he is of no consequence in the world. He is assigned a low and inferior status.

Pragmatism asserts against the dictum—truth is unchangeable and eternal, therefore already made—that truths are the prizes of human strivings, made by man in realising his needs.[3] Pragmatism truly became the democratisation in philosophy. In the past, philosophy was the concern of the select few, highly intellectual and noble souls. Pragmatism opened the floodgates of philosophy for every common man to enter and find justification for his beliefs, the golden rule for justification being the workability of belief and not its logical coherence.[4] Important problems of reality of God and future life are decided by the rest of their practical consequences.[5] The world is plastic and can be moulded according to the needs of man. There are as many philosophies as there are men. Such a view leads to pluralism and particularism of an extreme kind.

William JAMES remained an empiricist even while professing Pragmatism. His successor F. C. S. SCHILLER and John DEWEY tried to supplement it by adding human motives in order to make the notion of truth universal;[6] but they could not improve the situation as they were wedded to biological, behaviouristic conception of man. Satisfaction of human needs and their

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[3] "Our account of truth is an account of truth in plural, of processes of leading, realised *in rebus* and having only this in common, that they pay. They pay us by guiding us into or towards some part of system that dips at numerous points into sense percepts, ..Truths are *made*, just as health, wealth and strength are made, in the course of experience." *Pragmatism*, W. M. JAMES, p. 218.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 76.

[5] *Ibid*, p. 73.

[6] "An individual which American thought idealizes is not an individual *per se*, an individual fixed in isolation and set up for himself, but an individual who involves and develops in a cultural and human environment, an individual who can be educated." *Philosophy and Civilization*, J. DEWEY, p. 34. Cf. "Like other values also the career of truth is profoundly influenced by man's social nature; it has not merely to commend itself to its maker for the occasion. It must have a social sanction." *Riddle of Sphinx*, F. C. S. SCHILLER, pp. 132-3.

social test are vague terms and any interpretation can be given to suit the situation.

The emphasis on the independence of each individual and his distinction from the ultimate reality is brought out by Personalism. In this point the Christian concept of personality gets added support from the current democratic ideal. But it is a half-hearted attempt to keep pace with the demands of democracy and fidelity to dogma. It could not satisfy both and had to sever relation with one and it chose the latter and ended in individualism, this-worldliness and finite God.[7]

There is a gradual turn from theistic to atheistic personalism. Personalism laid stress on the uniqueness of personality and its freedom. If the concept of personality is to be retained along with the theistic interests in the same system, God becomes a deity as with Leibnitz. God creates the world with its evil and imperfections once for all and the souls have to fight out their good. Such an indifferent God does not satisfy the democratic need. He is therefore, brought down from his olympian heights to finite level. God in humanism and with Prof. HOWISON is a finite being struggling against evil like us. Such a god is really an inspiration, being a fellow companion in our weals and woes. With Prof. HOWISON, God and souls are co-eternal, God is finite from the point of knowledge but morally perfect.[8] God is not the creator of evil. Some wicked devil is posited as its creator. A finite God never satisfies the religious need. Some types of Personalism prefer atheism to the conception of a finite God.[9] 'Finite God' of S. ALEXANDER—Deity to come, an evolute of space—time—is replaced by society of selves in the philosophy of J. MC TAGGART and no God in the system of C. RENOUVIER.

When truth is pragmatic in nature—that which satisfies the human needs —there is no sense in talking of the world of eternal values. Human life and its interests are intimately bound up with the temporal order. Evolution which makes for the higher and unseen possibilities is our God. Man is simply a product of the process. The temporal character of the world and distrust of reason come out predominantly in the systems of H. BERGSON and G. GENTILE. For BERGSON, Duration or *Elan Vital* is ultimately real. It is an eternal flux creating numerous divergent species like a shooting rocket.[10] Intellect and instinct are created as means to an end—to preserve the orga-

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[7] "If it be asked what are those cardinal factors, I should answer: Those which are essential to the conduct of our individual life and the maintenance of social fabric." *Personal Idealism*, Ed. M. STURT, p. Pref. vi.

[8] *Philosophy of Personalism*, KNUDSON, p. 54.

[9] *Ibid*, p. 56.

[10] "But it (evolution) proceeds like a shell which suddenly bursts into fragments, which fragments, being themselves shells, burst in their turn into fragments destined to burst again, and so on for a time incommensurably long." *Creative Evolution*, BERGSON, p. 103.

nism on two divergent lines of evolution. Neither of the two can give us the knowledge of the real due to their inherent defects. Instinct is the knowledge of a few objects directly but it is completely absorbed in it.[11] Intellect gives the knowledge of relations and not of objects. Only if the instinct can become conscious of itself—intuition—can one feel the palpitating throb of life.[12]

Real for GENTILE is creative Thinking which he calls Spirit. It is self-creative and self-absorbing having no other over against it and nothing transcending it.[13] The spirit manifests itself in the historical process. This creative process can be known through self-losing experience of Will alone. Both the philosophers, BERGSON and GENTILE tend to favour time as real, and this tendency is wide-spread in the younger generation of philosophers.

Some personalists still had spiritual leanings. Person was a mystery, it was more than body. Consciousness still constituted existence for them. Behaviourism and Neo-Realism clear all the mystery from man. Man is what he appears from his behaviour, a creature of animal outgrowth, endowed with nervous system, instincts and reflexes. Consciousness is only a bye-product and not a unique quality. In Idealism it is Consciousness that gave meaning to the world. It was the centre of universe and the spiritual link between man and God. Neo-Realism turns the emphasis upside down. It is not consciousness but the stubborn facts of reality that gave meaning to all and constrained man to take note of or neglect at his risk. Consciousness is only an epi-phenomenon. Man is an organism like other organisms and analysable into *space-time* according to S. ALEXANDER or into *Neutral entities* according to E. B. HOLT. Prof. HOLT defines consciousness as the cross-section defined by the specific response of behaviour.[14] There is nothing like subject as such. Everything, even the images and memory are relegated to the realm of objectivity.[15]

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[11] *Ibid*, p. 156.

[12] "... by intuition I mean instinct that has become disinterested, self-conscious capable of reflecting upon its object and enlarging it indefinitely." *Ibid*, p. 186.

[13] "Whenever we want to understand something which has a spiritual value, something which we can speak of as a spiritual fact, we have to regard it not as an object, a thing which we set before us for investigation, but as something immediately identical with our own spiritual activity. *Theory of Mind as Pure Act*, GENTILE, p. 7. Cf. also "Strictly speaking, there can be no other outside us, for in knowing them and speaking of them they are within us. To know is to identify, to overcome otherness as such." *Theory of Mind as Pure Act*, GENTILE, p. 37.

[14] "Now this neutral cross-section outside of the nervous system, and composed of the neutral elements of physical and non-physical objects to which the nervous system is responding by some specific response—this neutral cross-section, I submit, coincides exactly with the list of objects of which we may say we are conscious..." *Concept of Consciousness*, E. B. HOLT, p. 182.

[15] "They are, therefore, cross-sections of the realm of being, quite as much as sensations and perceptions ... their position in consciousness, entrance into spacious presence and exit therefrom, is determined by the response of the nervous

In this manner a revolution has overtaken the realm of thought.

Ethics and religion became the problems of Psychology, Sociology and Anthropology.[16] Religion is a nervous disease, a flight from reality and God a father image, according to Dr. S. FREUD. Ethics became a positive science pointing to animal nature in man.

Different systems in the above manner, attacked one by one the spiritual strongholds of Absolute Idealism. But these were half-hearted attempts and had no thoroughness in them. They kept side by side their spiritual heritage incoherently in their system. Dialectical Materialism and Logical Positivism carried out the implications of this tendency with logical rigour and completed the picture by effacing spirituality outright. Logical Positivism condemns the philosophic method and calls all the questions relating to trans-empirical as nonsense. Dialectical Materialism synthesises the above attack into one systematic whole. It inverts the philosophy of HEGEL by placing matter instead of Spirit at the centre of the dialectical process.

All the problems of our life are subordinated to the economic questions by Dialectical Materialism. Economics is made to guide philosophy and religion. Religion and God are banished as the instigators of class war. Ethics of marriage and family is abolished as encouraging selfish greed of private property. Man has gained his economic freedom at the cost of the most valuable spiritual freedom in the socialistic state. Cruel instruments of suppression, death and violence are freely used to erase the opposing elements. It is clear and striking example of the havoc wrought when the spirit in man is killed and its opposite is raised to God-hood.

Logical Positivism believes scientific method to be the only valid method and empirical verification to be the only process of arriving at truth and tauto-logical judgments the only expression of truth.

With these weapons, it attacks the metaphysical problems and regards them as nonsense, because they are empirically unverifiable. Logical Positivism maintains that philosophy has nothing to discover and theorise upon as there is no realm of facts left exclusively for it.[17] The function of philosophy is to analyse complex judgments into simpler ones and see their veriability or otherwise. The agelong labours of all philosophers are cast away as beating

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system precisely as in the case of perception of any entity near or remote in space or time." *Ibid*, p. 254.

[16] "Ethics is less interested in the rational grounds of moral judgments than in the interaction of the human individual with his natural and social environment." *Philosophy To-day*, E. L. SCHAUB, p. 87.

[17] "In other words, the propositions of philosophy are not factual but linguistic in character—that is, they do not describe the behaviour of physical, or even mental objects; they express definitions or the former consequences of definitions. Accordingly, we may say that philosophy is a department of Logic." *Language Logic and Truth*, A. J. AYER, p. 63.

the void.[18]

This is the sort of agnosticism into which the present philosophical thought has landed. Logical Positivism seems to say, "We do not know and the results of traditional philosophy indicate that we cannot know anything beyond sense perception and so let us be satisfied with what is near at hand and certain and believe in the world wherein we can make ourselves effective." In all this Logical Positivism has only cleared the ground for Dialectical Materialism.

This is the picture of the age as we have tried to present; it is an age, "without belief in religion, without standard in morals, without conviction in politics, without values in art."[19]

It is enveloped in the false sense of ego due to its imperialistic and economically free position and the wrong interpretation of democratic ideal. It has put a sort of religious faith in the self sufficiency of scientific method for investigating truth in all spheres of life. The busy industrial life has so much engrossed the West in the present and its needs that it hardly frees her to think of some distant and remote interest of life.[20] The ideals of self-sacrifice, toleration and greatness of suffering do not touch her even. Thus, the depths of Spirit have remained unexcavated. This attitude has led them to accept uncritically the religious dogma. There is no attempt to realise the religious truths and make them the living experiences of life.[21]

But the growth of Spirit cannot be stifled; 'Poverty of Spirit' cannot last long. Spirit does not die, if it is not spread over a vast area, it can be seen somewhere burning intensely in some dark, lonely corner. Some thinkers in the West are fully conscious of this spiritual stagnation and are looking towards the East for her contribution for which it is so well known.

II

Logical Positivists stir us up from our illusion of the self sufficiency of the scientific method in investigating the truths of life. When the transcendental reality is sought through empirical method and the pragmatic instrument of intellect, it can only lead to prostitution in philosophy. A scientist has every right to prevent the philosopher from dabbling into his sphere and creating confusion by unwanted and unwarranted application of scientific categories to philosophic problems. Philosophy has truly no realm of facts to investigate and no theories to propound. Its business is different, so is its method of approach. Knowledge of self or subject is the proper field

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[18] "...from which must follow that the labours of those who have striven to describe such a reality have all been devoted to the production of nonsense." *Ibid*, p. 17.

[19] *The Philosophy for our Times*, C. E. M. JOAD, p. 14.

[20] *Contemporary Thought of G. Britain*, A. WIDGERY, p. 234.

[21] See f. n. 19 above.

of philosophic inquiry and no objective methods are fruitful in it. Philosophers must try intuitive method i.e. going inwards into the depths of Spirit, the agelong method of philosophy never for once abandoned by Indian thinkers.

With these reflections, we proceed to give the essentials of RADHAKRISHNAN'S philosophy and his mission.

Born and bred up in the spiritual tradition of the East and fed in early youth in the thought of the West, RADHAKRISHNAN soon perceived the disease in the Western thought and began his ceaseless activity to deliver the rich and profoundly spiritual message of the East to the West in its new setting required by the present age. It began with articles in various English Journals, then with books and lectures in England and America. In all books, beginning from the 'Reign of Religion in Contemporary Philosophy' to the 'Eastern Religions and Western Thought', we find the most predominant and emphatic call to all thinkers of the world, so eloquently expressed in his writings "Return to Spirit."

His 'Reign of Religion' firstly defines the realms and function of Philosophy, Science and Religion; further analyses the trends of the modern Western philosophic thought and later deals with individual philosophers showing their strength and weaknesses. In the end, he discusses his suggestion to an *Upanisadic* way of approach to philosophy. The dialogue between the Guru and the disciple from *Taittirīya Upanishad* is quoted and commented upon to show how the different categories of sciences like Physics, Biology and Psychology do not give the knowledge of the real. It is the quest of spirit, the self alone that can satisfy the "permanent wants of human life."

In the 'An Idealist View of Life', he gives a systematic account of his views on life's most puzzling problems.

Agreeing with the long tradition of Indian seers, he defines philosophy as 'an attitude of mind,' a mood of reflective inquiry and self contemplation. ... anxiety of mind to know things spiritual in which is the true dwelling-place of man.'[22] The main aim of the book is to reveal to the West the deep-lying, permanent spiritual nature of man, by analysing the conclusions of the different systems of the Western thought. Another note of importance that is struck so boldly is the reality of religious intuition. Intuitive experience is as valid and real as the experience of a scientist in his laboratory. Anti-Intellectualists in the West tried their best to bring home the need of intuition, but they were hesitant and weak as they did not know whether intuition stood on infra or supra-reflective level. He points further that the greatness of eminent philosophers lay in their intuitive perception of truth. He emphasises that intuition is not only the basis of philosophy but it is the

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[22] *An Idealist View of Life*, S. RADHAKRISHNAN, p. 157.

basis of all our experiences.[23] In this relation, he throws out an important suggestion to the West for an independent research, viz. the possibility of having more than one type of intuition each leading to the knowledge of Absolute.[24] He favours religious intuition which satisfies the whole nature of man.[25]

Discussing the problem of immortality, he points out the defects of various conceptions held in the West and vindicates the greatness of the Law of Karma. It appears to be the most satisfying solution of the problem of immortality.

The empirical world is not an illusion in the sense of non-being. In the highest experience the values and the outlook change, the whole man changes and is carried to a higher phase.

God and Absolute are identical, these being different names approached from different angles, viz. religion and philosophy.[26]

III

Prof. C. E. M. JOAD rightly characterises RADHAKRISHNAN as the *Liason Officer* between the East and the West. "He seeks to build a bridge between the traditional wisdom of the East and the new knowledge and energy of the West, that each may be enriched by the qualities of the other."[27] His service to Indian thought is equally great. By interpreting Indian philosophy he has revived Indian Philosophy from its recent decline.

His importance to the Indian thought is two-fold : Firstly, he has restated the spiritual ideal of the East in its proper setting by removing all the charges against Indian ideals and thus clearing the age-long misunderstanding between the East and the West. Secondly, he has reinterpreted Indian philosophy with a view to suit the present age.

He has endeavoured to refute the charges levelled against Indian philosophy in many of his books. These are fully stated and explained in chapter III of his "Eastern Religion and the Western Thought." He states SCHWEITZER's criticisms and elaborately deals with them and proves their unsoundness. These criticisms may be classified into two heads:—

(*a*) The essential other-worldliness of Hindu outlook leading to indifference towards social betterment.

(*b*) The charge that there is no place for Ethics in the Hindu thought due to its concept of self as illusion and its final absorption in the Absolute.

In answering these charges, he shows that the great mystic traditions in

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[23] *An Idealist View of Life*, S. RADHAKRISHNAN, p. 157.
[24] *Ibid*, p. 93 ; also cf. *Reign of Religion*, p. 425.
[25] *An Idealist View of Life*, p. 88.
[26] *Ibid*, pp. 342-5.
[27] *Counter Attack from the East*, Prof. C. E. M. JOAD, p. 38.

the East as well as in the West were other-worldly and emphasises the necessity of distinction between ethics which is limited to society and therefore finite and spirituality which consists in the way of renunciation and purity through suffering, which satisfies the true nature of a man.

Hindu tradition has survived to this day because it has understood the true wants of man and has tolerated and respected other ideals. These are the main causes of its survival and constitute its greatness.

Secondly, tracing the history of Religion of the East and the West, he points out the antiquity of the Eastern spiritual ideal and its influence on the West at different periods. From Pythagoras in the early Greek period,—the beginning of the Western philosophy—and Philo and Plotinus in the Mediaeval period to Schopenhaur in the modern times, Eastern Religious thought has been a healthy inspiration. The chapters iv to vii of the same book manifest his genius as a historian and a faithful interpreter of thought. The greatness of the past Indian glory has not blinded him to the present stagnation in Indian Thought. In his various convocation addresses, he shows the weaknesses of our present civilization; how our spirituality has degraded into "lazy indifferentism and rationalization"[28]; how our conception of Karma has been confused with fatality[29]; and has encouraged inactivism and how our rigid caste-system has kept some of us backward.

There is always encouragement and inspiration in his lectures and emulating influence in his presence. There is nothing to despair, he would say. Indian Thought is creative, Indian religion is based on creative intuition. "Our culture has not been static, fixed deposit, but it has been a steady, growing tradition. They are moving on from the interpretation of the *Vedas* to *Upaniṣads*, from *Upaniṣads to Gita*, and from *Gita* to the *Acaryas*, and from them to the present interpreters of the day.[30] "What is needed is the change of form to suit the present age. The truths of Spirit are eternal in their values, they are elastic in application." Hindu Thought has lived upon toleration, in giving due place to every ideal. It has been sincere and enthusiastic search after Truth. It has accepted, respected and synthesised ideals from different cultures, viz. Dravidian, Greek, Islamic and the Christian. It has to adhere to this attitude of mind and assimilate the rationalism of Modern Europe.[31] We cannot remain secluded in our own cloister. We have to think in terms of World-civilization and World-Society.

His own contribution to Hindu Philosophic Thought is as follows :—

(*a*) *Advaita Vedanta* when it calls world an illusion does not mean that the world is nothing. In the highest experience of Absolute, vision and

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[28] ***The Hindu View of Life***, p. 128.

[29] *Freedom and Culture.*

[30] **Address delivered on the occasion of laying the foundation of *The Oriental College*, Benares.**

value change; we are on a new dimension. The Phenomenal world is real so far as we have not achieved the highest ideal.

(*b*) Though intuition is the basis of all our experiences it is not irrational. Reason is not to be disparaged, it leads up to intuition....It supplies matter for the higher faculty of intuition.[31] Distrust of reason has always led to emotionalism and sentimentalism.

(*c*) The world is a community of selves each co-operating with the other; one cannot hope to attain salvation unless all reach up to that level. We must work up to help each other in this end.

(*d*) It is not astonishing to find opposition against RADHAKRISHNAN. It only manifests the influence of his thought on Indian Mind. For him, the problems of philosophy are the problems of life. He does not view the systems of Indian Philosophy as fossils as it is done by the classical followers.[32] In all his interpretations of Indian systems, he has done the same, what, in our long tradition of spiritual teachers, Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja and others did for their time. We have not long to wait to see how the new civilisation harmonises the Eastern and Western Civilisation.

[31] *Eastern Religions and Western Thought*, S. RADHAKRISHNAN, p. 116.
[32] *Religion in Transition*, p. 40; cf. also *Mind* 1926, p. 157.

SOME ETYMOLOGIES IN MANUSMṚTI

By

Shri A. M. GHATAGE, M.A., PH.D.

ETYMOLOGY is one of the potent means of explanation with Indian writers and very often they make the etymology of a word serve the function of an explanation. This inordinate desire to etymologise a word is very old and must have started from the days of the *Brāhmaṇas* which offer a number of such explanations of words, many of which are, however, quite fanciful. That this school of the etymologists grew very rapidly is evident from the remarks of Yāska about his predecessors and his own contributions in the field of etymology. In all such efforts, these writers were helped by the extraordinary transparency of the Sanskrit language and whenever the source of the word could be ascertained by reference to the material available in the language itself, the Indian school of etymologists and following them the grammarians have hit upon the correct origin of the word. But their ignorance of any of the cognate languages made them impossible to guess the correct source of so many words which have lost all connection with other words of the language or available roots and in all such cases they have satisfied themselves and their craving for etymology by a fanciful process of word-analysis in which they attempted to find out the known roots of the language. That such attempts were made quite early is apparent from the remarks of Yāska and Śākaṭāyana's analysis of the word *satya* given by him.[1] This was the result of the formulation of the extreme view that all nouns must come from verbs or roots, a view which modern linguistics has proved to be far from true.

The Dharmaśāstra attributed to Manu has indulged in a number of etymological explanations of a few words in course of discussing law proper, which are interesting both as regards their fanciful nature and the use made of them by the writer. Thus there are seven such cases which may be discussed in detail in order to ascertain their real origin and in what light the medieval commentators took them.

The most famous of them is the etymology of the name of the Supreme Being *nārāyaṇa* which is made to serve as a kind of proof for the cosmogonical speculations of the Smṛti in the first chapter. The Creator first created the waters and was himself born in them. Then the author says I.10 *āpo nārā iti proktā āpo vai narasūnavaḥ* |

tā yad asyāyanaṁ pūrvaṁ tena nārāyaṇaḥ smṛtaḥ ||

[1] *Nirukta*, I. 13.

He was called Nārāyaṇa because the place of his origin was the primordial water which was called *nārāḥ* (*nārā* + *ayana*) which in their turn, were so called because they were the sons (i.e. first products) of *nara* the creator himself. The commentators go into greater details and explain how the formation is to be analysed. Thus Medhātithi[2] says : *āpo vai narasūnavaḥ | sa bhaved bhagavān naraḥ puruṣa iti prasiddhaḥ | āpaś ca tasya sūnavo 'patyāni atas tā naraśabdena ucyante | dṛṣṭo hi pitṛśabdo 'patye | vasiṣṭhasya apatyāni vasiṣṭhāḥ | .. iti abhedopacāreṇa tā āpo naraśabdavācyāḥ | yad yena prakāreṇa asya prajāpateḥ pūrvam ayanaṁ prathamaḥ sargaḥ āśrayo vā garbhasthasya tena hetunā nārāyaṇaḥ smṛtaḥ | narā ayanaṁ asyeti nārāyaṇa iti prāpte "anyeṣām api dṛśyate" (Pāṇ. VI. 3.137) iti dīrghaḥ | puruṣa iti yathā | athavā sāmūhiko 'ṇ ||* This means that the word is made up of *nara* + *ayana* = *narāyaṇa* which is further changed to *nārāyaṇa* where *nara* refers to the first creation of the Supreme Being i.e. water and *ayana* may mean the first creation or the substratum. In the first case the word *nārāyaṇa* comes to mean *nara* by a roundabout way, the waters are called *narāḥ* because created by *nara*, and the creator is called *nārāyaṇa* because the waters were his first creation. The second alternative appears to be the intention of the Smṛti, as the preceding verses point out. For the lengthening of *nara* into *nāra* Medhātithi has given two suggestions, that it may be either arbitrary as in *puruṣa* or it may be the collective suffix *aṇ* (= *a*) which causes Vṛddhi and replaces the final vowel *-a* giving the form *nāra*. The explanation of Govindarāja is nearly identical except that he reads Manu's verses as '*āpo narā iti proktāḥ* |' thus making the lengthening of *nara* into *nāra*, according to the first explanation of Medhātithi, a part of Manu's statement.

Kullūka has followed the second explanation of Medhātithi and only points out that as the word *āpaḥ* is feminine the feminine form of *nāra* formed by *aṇ* (Pṇ IV. 1.83) should take *ṅīp* but here it takes irregularly *ṭāp*, giving the form *nārāḥ*. The remaining commentators have nothing new to add.

This etymology of Manu is probably copied by Viṣṇupurāṇa (27) and Mahābhārata (III. 189.3) which reads *narāṇām ayanāc cāpi tato nārāyaṇaḥ smṛtaḥ* | The grammar of Pāṇini has explained the word in a quite different manner. The word *nara* occurs in the gaṇa *naḍādi* of the Sūtra *naḍādibhyaḥ phak* (Pāṇ. IV. 1.99) which would make it a taddhita derivation in the sense of a descendant, thus making *nārāyaṇa* a descendant of *nara*. Later grammarians give both the explanations side by side. Thus for example Bhānūji[3] says : *narāṇāṁ samūho nāram | tasya samūhaḥ* (Pāṇ. IV. 2.37) *iti aṇ | tad ayanaṁ yasya | narasya apatyam iti vā || naḍādibhyaḥ phak ||*.

This word *nārāyaṇa* is purely an Indian formation and its etymology is obscure. There arise two questions in this connection : whether the read-

[2] Mandlik's Ed. p. 18.
[3] *Vyākhyāsudhā* on *Amarakośa*, p. 13.

ing of Manu should be *narāḥ* or *nārāḥ* and whether the word really meant 'water' as is asserted there. That, in spite of the reason given by Manusmṛti that waters are so-called because they are the sons of *nara* (*narasūnavaḥ*), it is not improbable that the word may have preserved its primitive meaning which was lost to classical Sanskrit. In Ṛgveda we do find a compound word *svàrṇara* besides *svàrṇ* which appears to show two distinct meanings.[4] In a number of cases it is used as an attribute of Agni where it may mean the 'heavenly man'. Thus II. 2.1 *samiḍhānáṁ suprayásaṁ svàrṇaram* | 'the enkindled, well fed, the heavenly man.' V.. 15.4. *dyutānáṁ vo átithiṁ svàrṇaram agnim* | '(I decorate) Agni, the bright one, your guest, the heavenly man'. VIII. 19.1. *táṁ gūrdhayā svàrṇaram* | 'Extol that heavenly man.'

In one or two cases the word occurs in company of other proper names. VIII. 3.12. *kṛ́pam índra prāvaḥ svàrṇaram* | 'as you helped Kṛpa and Svarṇara O Indra.' VIII. 12 2 *yénā dáśagvaṁ ádhriguṁ vepáyantaṁ svàrṇaraṁ, yénā samudrám ávithā támīmahe* 'We desire that by which you protected irresistible Daśagva, the Svarṇara who moves all and the ocean.'

But in the majority of cases the word *svàrṇara* appears to express the meaning of heavenly water or a fountain of heavenly water. This is the case when the word is used with the verb *mand-* or *mad-* (causal). VIII. 6.39 *mándasvā sú svarṇare* 'Take delight well in the heavenly water'. VIII. 65. 2. *yád vā prasrāvaṇe divó mādáyāse svàrṇare, yád vā samudré ándhasaḥ* 'and when you become exhilarated in the heavenly stream, in the heavenly water, and when in the ocean of Soma drink.' VIII. 103. 14 *mādáyasva svàrṇare* | 'take delight in the heavenly water'. IV. 21.3 *á yātu .. svàrṇarād ávase no marútvān* | 'Let (Indra) come from the heavenly fountain to help us, along with the Marut.' V. 18. 4. *stīrṇáṁ barhíḥ svàrṇare śrávāṁsi dadhire pári* | 'the sacrificial grass is spread around the heavenly fountain and they have placed their glories there.' X. 65.4 *svàrṇaraṁ antárikṣāṇi rocaná .. skambhuḥ* | 'they supported the heavenly fountain, heaven and earth and the bright regions.'

In all these cases the description appears to suggest a heavenly place where the gods can take delight as they do in the juice of Soma here. In fact it appears to be a heavenly counterpart of the Soma Juice offered to the gods in the sacrifice. In any case the compound expression *svàrṇara* obviously contains the word *nara* which distinctly refers to some liquid and the whole word, some place filled with it. If this is so we can readily believe that the word *nara* expressed the idea of water and was used in the plural like its synonym *āpaḥ* and the statement *āpo narāḥ iti proktāḥ* may be accepted as true. The word *nārāyaṇa* would be then regularly derived from *nara* in the sense of 'descended from water'. The only modification, which the Manusmṛti has introduced, pertains to the extension of the chain of evolu-

[4] Cf. GELDNER *Rigveda in Auswahl*, I. p. 209.

tion backwards by tracing the origin of the water to the First Man and thus drawing the natural conclusion that the waters were the 'sons' of that *nara*. Naturally we should accept the reading *narāḥ* as being the original one and even from the wording of the comment of Medhātithi, it may have been before him. But very early this word *nara* meaning 'water' must have got confused with the other word *nara*, the thematic form of *nṛ* meaning 'man', which led to further speculation and the creation of the myth about the sages *nara* and *nārāyaṇa* and the way of Manu's explanation.

In II. 76 Manu gives an analysis of the word *oṁ*, the three constituent sounds of which *a*, *u* and *m* were milked by the creator from the three Vedas. Here the Smṛti is simply following the views of the Upaniṣads, particularly in *Chāndogya* 2.23.2. which is obvious from the mention of the three *Vyāhṛtis* in both the places. But the real origin of this interjection has been clearly pointed out by J. BLOCH[6] who draws attention to the fact that in Indo-Aryan languages a final long vowel, much more a *pluta* one, shows a tendency to get nasalised. Thus the simple interjection *o* was nasalised into *õ* which later became (om.) This agrees well with its original meaning of an assent, an affirmation which it has kept long into the classical period. The analysis of the word into *a*, *u* and *m*, based upon the Sandhi of *a* + *u* = *o* is quite fanciful but may be pretty old.

While discussing the duty of honouring guests Manu (III. 102) gives the etymology of the word *átithi* in the words : *anityaṁ hi sthito yasmāt tasmād atithir ucyate* | 'Because he does not live for long he is called *atithi*'. Here again the commentators try to justify the explanation in various ways. Medhātithi says : *anityam hi sthitiḥ* | *tiṣṭhateḥ atipūrvasya ayaṁ śabdaḥ* | *auṇādikaḥ kathaṁcid vyutpattiḥ* | This means that he derives the word from *ati* + *sthā*-. Here *ati* naturally will have the meaning of 'beyond', 'surpassing' etc. But it is obvious that he cannot fully explain its formation and, as will be seen, there cannot be a Uṇādi suffix to justify this etymology. Kullūka takes the word to be made up of *a* and *tithi* and explains : *na vidyate dvitīyā tithir asya iti atithiḥ* | Herein he is followed by Rāghavānanda. The explanation of Nandana is quite fanciful : *antyaśabdāt akāraṁ ikāraṁ takāraṁ ca ādāya sthitiśabdāt thakāraṁ ikāraṁ ca ādāya saṁniveśya atithiḥ iti ucyate* | In all probability the author is imitating the citation of Yāska on the word *satya*. How can *anityaṁ* give *ati*? This etymology of *atithi* is similar to the one found in the commentary on Khuḍḍakapāṭha which says : *natthi assa ṭhiti yamhi vā tamhi vā divase āgacchatīti atithi* |

The Uṇādisūtras derive the word from *at*- 'to wander' and the suffix *ithin* (IV. 2) which appears to be probably the correct explanation. This word is the same as the other one *atithin* (RV. X. 68.3) which means 'wanderer.' That the word is of Indo-Iranian age is evident from the Avestan word *aṛtiś* corresponding to Sanskrit *atithi*. But the relation of the word

[6] *L'indo-Aryen*, p. 45.

with the root *at-* was soon forgotten because the dental of the root became cerebralised[6] and classical Sanskrit knew only of *aṭ-* 'to wander'.

Manu's explanation of the word *māṁsá* 'flesh' is quite fanciful. He says (V. 55) that because the eater of flesh is to think that as a punishment he will be eaten by his own victim in the next life, flesh is to be called *māṁsa*. It is thus made up of *mām* (Acc. sing. I pronoun) referring to the person who eats flesh and *sa* (= *saḥ*) the demonstrative pronoun in the third person singular masculine referring to the victim which is eaten That this could not satisfy even the commentators is obvious and Medhātithi makes the usual remark : *nāmadheyanirvacanaṁ arthavādaḥ* | suggesting thereby that all such attempts of etymology are worthless.

The Uṇādisūtra (III. 64) *maner dīrghaś ca* | derives *māṁsa* from *man-* 'to think' and the suffix *-sa* (cf. III. 62). A similar formation is to be found in the verb *māmāṁsate* and *mīmāṁsā* derived from the root *mān-* according to Pāṇini III. 1.6.

That even this etymology is wide of the mark can be seen from the fact that *māṁsa* is a word, representing a thematic form of the more primitive *māṁs-* just as *māsa*, is from *mās*. Thus to find a nominal suffix *-sa* in *māṁsa* is out of question. That the word is of Indo-European origin will be evident from parallels in other cognate languages. Thus Greek has the word *mērós* 'thigh' Latin *membrum* of doubtful etymology 'limb,' Gothic *mimz* 'flesh' and OCS. *meso* 'flesh'.[7] This leads us to postulate an Indo-European word like * *memsro-* in the sense of 'a limb of an animal, flesh'.

Explaining the word *vṛṣalá* which has come to mean a low caste man, Manu remarks that gods call him so because he obstructs right or justice. He analyses the word into *vṛṣa* which means *dharma* and the particle *alaṁ* in the sense of enough (VIII. 16). Medhātithi explains how *vṛṣa* comes to mean religion : *vṛṣasya kāmavarṣiṇaḥ dharmasya* 'of Vṛṣa, religion, which showers all desires'. His derivation of *vṛṣa* is correct but that of *vṛṣala* is linguistically useless.

The Uṇādisūtra (I. 111) *vṛṣādibhyaścit* derives the word from *vṛṣ-* + *ala*. From RV. onwards the words *vṛṣan* and *vṛṣala* are frequently used and form a kind of contrast, the first expressing the idea of a vigorous bull often applied to Indra and the second meaning a castrated bull and used with Vṛtra in a derogatory sense. That *vṛṣ-* means to shower and *vṛṣan* a vigorous bull is evident from comparisons like Gr. *'érse* 'dew' Lat. *ros* 'moisture' all from the primitive * *ueres*.

Manu's explanation of the word *jāyā* (IX. 8) 'wife is so called because the husband is born in her' is copied from the statement in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* VII. 13. *tajjāyā jāyā bhavati yad asyāṁ jāyate punaḥ* | Leaving

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Ibid. p. 57.

BRUGMANN : *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik*, p. 111.

aside the fiction that the husband is reborn as his own son, the etymological part of the explanation is quite sound. The word is to be split as *jā* (= *jan-* to produce) and the nominal suffix *-yā*. The Uṇādisūtra (VI. 112) *janer-yuk* explains it thus and the other word *bhāryā* from *bhṛ-* + *yā* would furnish a good parallel. The word means 'one who gives birth' (*jan-* ; *janayati*). That the author should explain it as *yasyāṁ jāyate* and not *yā janayati* is again due to the fact that the root *jan-* has undergone a change in its meaning in course of its history. The primitive root * *gene-* must have both a transitive and an intransitive meaning as in Veda : *jajāna* 'created' and *jajñe* 'was born'. When the transitive sense becomes obsolete in Classical Sanskrit it was not possible to take its derivative *jāyā* in an active sense and hence the fiction of the husband taking birth in her. This was helped by the weak grade of the root *jā-* which was also to be found in the passive form *jāyate*.

Finally Manu gives the explanation of the word *putrá* 'a son' (IX. 138). According to him the son is so called because he protects his parents from falling in a hell called *put*. Thus the word is made up of *put* + *trā-* 'to protect'. The commentators have nothing important to say except that Rāghavānanda wrongly calls the hell *pum* which could not explain the word *putra*.

The Uṇādisūtra (IV. 164) *puvo hrasvaśca* explains the word as *pū-* 'purify' + *tra* (nominal suffix). The difficulty here would be the gender of the noun which should have been neuter as in case of *mitra* and *kalatra* in spite of their meanings.

Here again the word is old. We have parallels like Avesta *puθra*, Lat. *puer* 'boy' Gr. *país* 'child'. The Latin word *pullus* (from * *putslos*) means 'a young one of an animal', so also the Lith. *putytis*. This may suggest an Indo-European base like * *pullo* which would become *putra* in Sanskrit by the usual change of *-l-* to *-r-*. That this was a diminutive of the word *pum* 'man' is also probable and would naturally explain how the word came to mean 'a son'.

From this review of the few etymologies offered by the Manusmṛti it should become clear that the contention that whenever the material in the Sanskrit language was insufficient to arrive at the correct source of the word the Indian etymologists have simply satisfied their desire for derivation in a fanciful manner with obviously wrong explanations. But when the language afforded them the slightest help as in the case of *atithi* and *jāyā* they have rightly hit upon the real source of the word.

THE TRADITION ABOUT LIAISON OF JAGANNĀTHA PANDITARĀJA WITH A MUSLIM LADY (YAVANĪ) — IS IT A MYTH ?

By

Prof. P. K. GODE, M. A.

LIKE the life-history of many of his celebrated contemporaries, the life-history of Jagannātha Paṇḍita is shrouded in mystery. Some of the traditions about this dominant personality of the middle of the 17th century are taken as facts of history by the orthodox pandits while they are dismissed as myths by modern writers. No attempt seems to have been made to examine all these traditions from the historical point of view, which requires a painstaking investigation not only in contemporary sources but in subsequent sources, whether Sanskrit or non-Sanskrit.[1]

In a recent volume[2] on Jagannātha Paṇḍita Prof. V. A. Ramaswami

[1] In this connection Dr. QANUNGO's paper on "Some sidelights on the character and court-life of Shah Jahan" published in the *Journal of Indian History*, Madras, Vol. 8 (1929), pp. 49 and 50, is noteworthy. Some points from this paper pertaining to Jagannātha may be recorded here.

(*i*) Jagannātha is referred to in the *Padshahnama* as a *Kalāwant* (musician).

(*ii*) On the 22nd Rabi-us-Sani Jagannātha *Kalāwant* presented to the emperor 12 literary pieces composed in the name of His Majesty (Shah Jahan), who was so pleased that Jagannātha was weighed against silver and the whole amount of Rs. 4,500 was presented to Jagannātha.

(*iii*) *Jaganātha Kalāwant* was first given the title of *Kavirāya* and after sometime that of *Mahā Kavirāya.*

(*iv*) Jagannātha (Kalawant) headed the list of authors at the Mughal Court. Dr. QANUNGO identifies *Jagannātha Kalāwant* with Jagannātha, the author of *Rasagaṅgādhara* and Āsaflahari (*Āsafvilāsa*). I have noted these points from Prof. V. A. SASTRI'S remarks on p. 23 of his *Jagannātha Paṇḍita.*

[2] *Jagannātha Paṇḍita* (Annamalai Univ. Series, No. 8), Annamalainagar, 1942. In Chapter I the author deals with the elder and close contemporaries of Jagannātha. Among these I find the names of (1) खण्डदेवमिश्र (2) भट्टोजि दीक्षित and (3) कवीन्द्राचार्य सरस्वती. He seems to be unaware of the following papers published by me on these personalities :—

(*i*) The Chronology of the Works of Khaṇḍadeva (*D. R. Bhandarkar Volume*, Calcutta, 1939, pp. 9-15).

(*ii*) A New Approach to the Date of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita (*Annals S. V. Ori. Institute* Tirupati, 1940, Vol. I, pp. 117-127).

(*iii*) Bernier and Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī at the Mughal Court, (*Annals*, Tirupati, 1940, Vol. I, Part 4, pp. 1-16). See also my paper on Varadarāja, a pupil of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita in *Festschrift P. V. Kane*, (1941) pp. 188-199.

SASTRI of the Annamalai University has devoted one Chapter[3] to "Jagannātha's Life-history" and gathered all known data about this history. It is a laudable attempt as it provides us with all earlier references on the subject and thus lays bare the points which need further investigation. I have been collecting materials on these lines but as it will take a long time to put them in print I have thought it advisable to make a beginning by putting on record some evidence on the tradition about the *liaison* of Jagannātha with a yavanī or Muslim lady, which is always mentioned with wonder and amazement by the orthodox paṇḍits and with a prying curiosity and hidden admiration by some of our modern Sanskritists with a reformist and cosmopolitan bias.

In support of Jagannātha's liaison with a Muslim lady some verses[4] are cited. Prof. SASTRI states that, "these verses are not found in any one of his (Jagannātha's) works. ...As there is no direct reference to any Muslim beauty in this work (in the Śṛṅgāra Samullāsa of the *Bhāminīvilāsa*) it is doubtful whether he had been intimate with a Muslim lady. The stanzas cited might be the productions of his enemies, whom he had not spared and in revenge were probably fathered upon him." Prof. SASTRI concludes his discussion[5] of the topic as follows :—

"It may be remembered in this connection that Shah Jahan interdicted Hindu-Muhammadan marriages in Kashmir. Therefore, it is unlikely that he tolerated his *protégé* Jagannātha's marriage with a Muslim lady." Against this conclusion of Prof. SASTRI I have to point out that the practice of maintaining *liaison* with Muslim ladies was not uncommon in the 17th century or

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[3] Chapter II (pp. 11-28).

[4] These verses as quoted by Prof. SASTRI are :—

"यवनी नवनीतकोमलाङ्गी
शयनीये यदि नीयते कदाचित् ।
अवनीतलमेव साधु मन्ये
न वनी माधवनी विनोदहेतुः ॥ १ ॥
यवनी रमणी विषदश्शमनी
कमनीयतमा नवनीतसमा ।
उहि ऊहि वचोऽमृतपूर्णमुखी
स सुखी जगतीह यदङ्कगता ॥ २ ॥
इयं सुस्तनी मस्तकन्यस्तकुम्भा
कुसुम्भारुणा चारुचेलावसाना ।
अरम्भासमानापि रम्भासमाना
लवङ्गी कुरङ्गी दृगङ्गी करोतु ॥ ३ ॥"

The third verse is also read as :—

"न याचे गजालिं न वा वाजिराजिं न वित्तेषु चित्तं मदीयं कदापि ।
इयं सुस्तनी मस्तकन्यस्तहस्ता लवङ्गी कुरङ्गी दृगङ्गी करोतु ॥"

Vide p. 21 of *Jagannātha Paṇḍita* (1942).

even in the 16th century. For instance Lolimbarāja[6] who belonged to the latter half of the 16th century had his *liaison* with Ratnakalā, a Muslim beauty who is constantly referred to in his works. Then again a Brahmin Dayādeva Śarmā had his *liaison* with Cimanī[7] the daughter-in-law of Allāhvardī Khān Turkmān (between A.D. 1606 and 1660) one of the great grandees at Shah Jahān's court. It is, therefore, quite probable that Jagannātha Paṇḍita maintained his *liaison* with a yavanī in spite of his contact with Shah Jahān's court.

Now let us see if we can record the earliest mention of the tradition of Jagannātha and his contact with a *yavanī* (or Muslim beauty). So far as my investigation goes I have found such mention in the commentary of Sadāśiva on the *Gaṅgālaharī* of Jagannātha Paṇḍita. Sadāśiva observes at the beginning of his commentary :—

"अत्र एवं श्रूयते । कवि **जगन्नाथो** दिल्लीवल्लभाश्रितस्त**द्यवनी**संसर्गदोषभाक् सन् गंगासकाशात् द्विपंचाशत् सोपानांतरितनिजगृहे स्थितः सन् तत्रैव जाह्नव्यागमनस्पर्शनेनात्मशुद्धिं कामयमानः सन् काव्यं यशसेर्थकृते परदोषविदे शिवेतरक्षतये । सद्यः परनिवृतये कांतासंमिततयोपदेशयुजे इति काव्यप्रकाशोक्तेः शिवेतरक्षतिफलदं गंगास्तुतिरूपं काव्यं चिकीर्षुः विघ्नविघाताय वस्तुनिर्देशात्मकं मंगलमाचरन् स्वाभिमतं प्रार्थयते ॥ समृद्धमिति ॥"

The above extract is found in a MS at the B. O. R. Institute (Govt. MSS Library)—*No. 433 of 1884-87*, which bears the date[8] Śaka 1750 = *A.D. 1828.*

As the tradition about Jagannātha and his *yavanī* is recorded in a MS of Sadāśiva's commentary copied in A.D. 1828 we can safely infer that it was current towards the end of the 18th century. I have not examined the date[9] of Sadāśiva's commentary, but it is obviously earlier than A.D. 1828. It is thus clear that this tradition is at least about 150 years old.

[6] Vide my paper on "Lolimbarāja and His Works." (*Indian Culture* Vol. VII, pp. 1-17).

[7] Vide my paper on the "Historical Background of the Cimanīcarita" (*Poona Orientalist* 1941, Vol. VI, pp. 149-158).

[8] The MS. ends :-"शके १७५० सर्वधारी नामसंवत्सरे मार्गशीर्ष शुक्ले रुद्रतिथ्यां रविवारे समाप्तिमगमत् । इति श्री **सदाशिवभट्ट**विरचिता **जगन्नाथ**निर्मितगंगालहर्य्या व्याख्या समाप्ता ॥ MS No. 154, of 1902-07 of the same comm. is dated Śaka 1772 = A.D. 1850.

[9] I reproduce below the closing verses of Sadāśiva's commentary as found on folio 27[a] of MS. No. *433* of *1884-87* referred to above :—

"यद्यप्यहं मंदमतिस्तथापि टीका समाप्तिर्हि बभूव शीघ्रं ।
नात्रापरं कारणमस्ति किंचिच्छ्री**भास्करा**ज्ञा किल किंत्वमोघा ॥ १ ॥
शाके कीलकसंज्ञके नृसुखके संमासके **चैत्रके**
वारे भार्गवके तिथौ करणके सर्वस्य संबालके ।
भूलेभे विबुधौघचित्तसुखदा टीका समाप्तानया
तोषं यातु समस्तपापहरिणी गंगामहेशां गिरी ॥ २ ॥

As regards the antiquity of the verses about Jagannātha's yavanī already quoted in this paper I have to state that they are found in a MS[10] dated A.D. *1843* of Dalapātirāma's commentary on the *Gaṅgālaharī* of Jagannātha.

गंगा नृपं द्विपं वा तुरगं मृगं वा
शुकं बकं वा महिषं वृषं वा ।
हरी करोष्यंगनकं हि गंगे
स्नातं भवत्यां सकृदीश गंगे ॥ ३ ॥

नारायणो यस्य पितामहोभून्माणीकभट्टश्च पिता यदीयः ।
गोपी यदीया जननी सुशीला टीका कृता तेन **सदाशिवेन** ॥ ४ ॥

भक्तो यद्गवहतोः केदारस्थिं पर्वतेसित्वं ।
तत्राप्यागत्याहं त्वां शिवं याचे हि तत्कृत्सर्वः ॥ ५ ॥

पंडितस्य कुलोत्पन्नो **मयूरेश** इति श्रुतः ।
तेनेदं लिखितं सर्वं स्वात्मनः पाठसिद्धये ॥ १ ॥

अर्जितं भूरितं कष्टे लिखितं पुस्तकं मया ।
हर्तुमिच्छति यः पापी तस्य वंशक्षयो भवेत् ॥ २ ॥" etc.

The verse "शाके **कीलक** संज्ञके" quoted above contains the date of composition. Perhaps Śaka 1710 (= A.D. *1788*) Caitra month (April-May) is the date of composition as this year bears the name कीलक (Vide *Ind. Ephemeris*, VI, p. 380).

[10] *MS No. 339 of 1892-95* (Govt. MSS Library, B. O. R. Institute) folio 2 a—

—" यातायातैः प्रतिदिनमहो भज्यमानाधिमानाः
सिद्धैः सार्द्धं दिवि दिविषदैस्साधपात्रैकहस्ता ।
मातर्गंगे यदवधि तव प्रादुरासीत्प्रवाहः ॥ १ ॥

किं निश्शङ्कं शेषे शेषे वयसि समा(ग)तो भृत्युः ।
अथवा सुखं शयीथा निकटे जाह्नवी जननी ॥ २ ॥

शास्त्राण्याकलितानि नित्यविधयः सर्वेपि संपादिता
दिल्लीवल्लभपाणिपल्लवतले नीतं नवीनं वयः ।
संप्रत्यंधकशासकस्य नगरे तत्त्वं परचिंतते
सर्वं पंडितराजराजतिलकेनाकारि लोकत्रयं(यं) ॥ ३ ॥

श्रीमद् ज्ञानेंद्रभिक्षो रधिगत निखिलब्रह्मविद्याप्रपंचः
काणादीराक्षयादीरपि गहनगिरो यो महेन्द्रादवेदीद्
देवा देवाद्यधीष्टः स्मरहरनगरे शासनं जैमिनीयं
शेषांक प्राप्तशेषा सलभणितिरभृत्सर्वविद्याधरो यः ॥ ४ ॥

पठविघटितमपि कुचतटमत्कपटमनसकुरंगनयनायाः ।
मणिमयमयूखपटली पटलीनतया न सम्यगालोकि ॥ ५ ॥

{ **यवनी** रमणी विपदः समनी कमनीयतमा नवनीतसमा ।
{ उहि ऊहिवचोमृतपूर्णमुखी स सुखी जगतीह यदंकगता ॥ ६ ॥

{ यवनी नवनीतकोमलांगी शयनीयं यदि मामकं भजेत ।
{ अवनीतलमेव साधु मन्ये न पुनर्माधवनी वेनी विनोदं ॥ ७ ॥

These verses are therefore 100 years old and as they are connected with the tradition about Jagannātha's *yavanī* recorded by the commentator Sādāśiva we may not be wrong if we consider them practically of the same age as the tradition i.e. about 150 years old, if not more.

Dalapatirāma composed his commentary in A.D. *1807*. It is doubtful whether the 9 verses found in a MS of A.D. *1843* formed part of Dalapatirāma's commentary. It is, however, certain that they were current in A.D. 1843 and possibly many years earlier[11] as I have already observed above.

The extract given above states that these verses were composed by Paṇḍitarāja (Jagannātha) —"इमे श्रीपंडितराजकृत श्लोकाः" We are concerned here with verses 6, 7 and 9 in the extract, which are practically identical with those quoted by Prof. Ramaswami SASTRI, in his discussion about Jagannātha's *yavanī*.

The extract from Sadāśiva's commentary on the *Gaṅgālaharī* containing the tradition about Jagannātha's *yavanī* and the three verses about this *yavanī* found in a MS of A.D. 1843 make it abundantly clear that this tradition had

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स्थानादनुत्थानं मं वंदन संप्रश्न संप्रश्नवागभावः ।
अन्योन्यमालोक्य न माननानां श्रीगोकुले गोकुलरीति रेषा ॥ ८ ॥
{ न याचे गजालिं न वा वाजिराजिं न विभेयचित्तं मदीयं कदापि ।
{ इयं सुस्तनी मस्तकन्यस्तहस्ता लवंगी कुरंगी दृगंगीकरोतु ॥ ९ ॥

इमे श्री **पंडितराजकृतश्लोका** या पटविघटितमपि कुचतटमधुपटमनसः कुरंगनयनायाः मणीमयमयूखपटली पटलीनतया न सम्यगालोकी अपिमरश्रवणादेतत्सलिलस्य सुधातः सौंदर्य्यं स्फुटमेव "

The foregoing verses are not found in other MSS of Dalapatirāma's Comm. at the B. O. R. Institute. The date of this Comm. is A.D. *1807* (*Vide* N. V. ATHALYE'S article in the *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. V, pp. 77ff.).

[11] In connection with the question of Jagannātha and his *yavanī* the following anecdote of Jahangir's Court narrated by Bernier in his letter written from Delhi on *1st July 1663* makes interesting reading :—(Vide pp. 274-276 of *Travels* Vol. I, Constable, London, 1891).

A physician and surgeon called *Bernard* was a favourite of Jahangir. He was paid 10 crowns per day. He fell in love with a damsel of Jahangir's Court. Her mother resisted the overtures of *Bernard*. Jahangir offered him a present for an extraordinary cure effected by him in his Seraglio. Bernard refused the gift before the Court assembly and in lieu thereof asked for the damsel in question then waiting for the customary *salām* at the court. "The whole assembly smiled at this refusal of the present and at a request so little likely to be granted, he being a *Christian* and the girl a *Mahomedan* and a *Kencheny* ; but *Jehan-Guyre*, who never felt any religious scruples, was thrown into a violent fit of laughter, and commanded the girl to be given to him 'Lift her on the physician's shoulders' he said, 'and let him carry the *Kenchen* away'. No sooner said than done. In the midst of a crowded assembly, the girl was placed on Bernard's back who withdrew triumphantly with his prize and took her to his house." This story of *Bernard* and his *yavanī* may be favourably compared with that of Jagannātha and his *yavanī*.

crystallized by the end of the 18th century and that it is about 150 years old. We cannot, therefore, brush it aside without tracing its origins in earlier sources. At any rate we should keep it open for further investigation and should not treat it as a pure myth without any foundation in fact. It has been my experience that traditions dismissed as improbable by responsible scholars[12] with critical acumen have been proved by me on contemporary evidence, the genuineness of which has now been acknowledged by them. I would, therefore, request my friend Prof. SASTRI to examine the tradition about Jagannātha's *yavanī* more closely on the strength of all sources, contemporary and subsequent ones and then express a decisive opinion on it. Sanskritists are not to blame if they are unable to prove facts or traditions[13] about the personal history of Sanskrit authors but it is their sacred duty to bring to the notice of historians such facts or traditions which need further investigation. I myself have been struggling continuously in this direction for the last twenty-five years but the results of my labour have hardly touched the very fringe of the uncharted field of the history of Sanskrit and allied literature represented by the innumerable manuscripts in our Manuscript Libraries.

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[12] Vide my papers on the Aśvamedha performed by Sevai Jaising of Amber (in the *Jour. of Ind. History*, XV, 364 ff.; *Poona Orientalist*, II, p. 166 ff.; *Mīmāṁsā Prakāsh* II, p. 43 ff). My friend Dr. Dineshchandra SARKAR has admitted the genuineness of this evidence on p. 351 of his "*Successors of the Sātavāhanas*"—(Appendix on Aśvamedha) Calcutta, 1939.

[13] Mr. Ramrao Martand BHAMBURKAR in his *Life of Pandit Jagannātharāya* and *Saṅgīta Gaṅgādharī* Baroda, 1928 (Pages 139+72) has collected and recorded all facts and fiction about Jagannātha. The volume makes interesting reading but it is difficult to penetrate the mist of tradition as recorded in this volume. He has composed a Marathi play called यवनीपरिणय based on Jagannātha and his yavanī. It is in three acts. Mr. BHAMBURKAR makes Jagannātha a contemporary of Emperor Akbar (A.D. 1556-1605) while Prof. Ramaswami SASTRI gives us "C. A.D. 1590-1665" as the date of Jagannātha, which I think is acceptable. I appreciate Mr. BHAMBURKAR's fervour but not his chronology, which is somewhat misleading and contrary to contemporary evidence. In Mr. BHAMBURKAR Jagannātha has found a kindred spirit to render his *Gaṅgālaharī* ably in Marathi songs, which are characterized by a felicity of diction and ease of style, qualities rarely to be found in some of the Marathi renderings of Sanskrit poems.

"SATYASAMHITĀ AND GANDHIJI'S HOROSCOPE" *

By

Professor A. S. GOPANI, M. A.

I. *The Satyasamhitā and Satyācārya.*

THE *Satyasamhitā* is a stupendous work consisting of 125 volumes. Each volume, in its turn, has got 300 palm-leaves. It is in Sanskrit and written in a Tāmil script called Grantham. One Madrasi Pandit named Srinivasacharya IYENGAR has got it.

The work deals with the predictive portion of Astrology. Its reputed author is Satyācārya who, as he says in the text of the *Satyasamhitā* attached at the end of the article, was one of the many stars that shone in the court of one Vikramāditya.[1] At the latter's repeated request Satyācārya described the futures of all the people, living on the earth. Thus it is legitimate to hope that every one's future is mirrored in this huge work.

Nothing can be said regarding the historicity of this marvellous work and its divine author. But looking to the fact that such words as *Nyāyavādi* and *Nyāyadarśī*[2] are used to denote modern distinctions existing between an Advocate and a Solicitor as well as the words like *Samācārayantra*[3] and *Kalāśālā*[4] for Press and College respectively, I am inclined not to attach much antiquity to this work as its extraordinary divine nature would tempt me to. A part of the work may be genuine and there are certain elements with the flavour of the Moslem age interpolations.

I would not have put faith at all in this work as I know there are, now-a-days, so many counterfeit *Samhitās* afloat in the market. But the reading of GANDHIJI's horoscope as published, according to it, in the December issue of *Gujarat* 1931, refers to such incidents and episodes of GANDHIJI's life as actually took place in years later than 1931,[5] I am encouraged to make a scientific study of this work which is decidedly on a higher level and which requires a reasonable explanation, though I must admit that my researches have not yielded sufficiently satisfactory results on account of the fact that

* A part of the text of the *Satyasamhitā* containing the reading of Gandhiji's life is attached at the end of the article.

[1] See the text of the *Satyasamhitā* (SS), attached at the end of the article, stanza 1.

[2] *SS*, stanzas 29, 83 and 92.

[3] This word is found used in the *Satyasamhitā* reading of a certain well-known journalist.

[4] This word is found used in the *Satyasamhitā* reading of a highly qualified Professor.

[5] *SS*, sts. 50 and 51.

I do not claim to be the regular student of Astrology as other Sastris, who have learnt at the feet of the master, this occult science.

II. *Argument.*

In this work, the *Lagna* is described as consisting of 150 *Amśas*; and 150 predictions, all different in details, are allotted to each *Lagna*. Each prediction is divided into two main groups, namely, *Prathama Bhāva* and *Dvādaśa Bhāva*. It takes some time in ascertaining a particular *Amśa* in which the native might have been born. That *Amśa* which gives approximately correct description of the previous history of the native's life should be considered his *Amśa*. The first group named *Prathama Bhāva* sketches the native's life only in bold outlines while the second group enters into every possible detail. I draw the attention of the readers to this special feature that the predictions contained in this work are not merely based on the author's knowledge of astrology but also on his yogic powers.[6] Different technical names are given to different *Amśas*. They are not known to any recognized books on astrology. The *Amśa* in which GANDHIJI was born is styled *Kuñjarāmśa* of the *Tulā Lagna* by the author.[7]

III. *Summary.*

The following is a summary of the reading of GANDHIJI'S horoscope according to *Satyasamhitā*.

The native will be born in a holy city situated on the coast of the ocean.[8] His father will be a Devān and he himself will be a part of Viṣṇu born on this earth.[9] At the age of 20, he will go to a foreign country.[10] At 32 he will be a lawyer.[11] He will consider the whole world as his family[12]; will always speak the truth[13] and will be pure-hearted.[14] He will himself put and will also make others put on clothes manufactured in his own country.[15] He will be friendly to all.[16] Pride and arrogance will not touch him.[17] There will be no distinction, whatsoever, between his thoughts, words and deeds.[18] While living as a house-holder, he will live as a hermit at heart.[19] He will many times go to prison, especially before 45 and 55.[20] At 62, he will be very unhappy, when running through the direction of *Rāhu*.[21] At 66 he will fare well and shall achieve some success in his mission.[22] He will resort to fast for the good of the world[23] and will live above 70.[24] Before 65, he will profitably meet the Emperor of the white people.[25] His father will have more than one wife; and he will be born of the last wife.[26] His mother will

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[6] *SS*, st. 20. [7] *SS*, st. 22. [8] *SS*, sts. 23 and 58
[9] *SS*, st. 33. [10] *SS*, st. 27. [11] *SS*, st. 29.
[12] *SS*, st. 34. [13] *SS*, st. 31. [14] *SS*, st. 35.
[15] *SS*, st. 32. [16] *SS*, st. 34. [17] *SS*, st. 33.
[18] *SS*, st. 34. [19] *SS*, st. 36. [20] *SS*, st. 38.
[21] *SS*, st. 39. [22] *SS*, st. 39. [23] *SS*, st. 41.
[24] *SS*, st. 42. [25] *SS*, sts. 50 and 51. [26] *SS*, st. 64.

die at 22 in his absence when he will be away from his native land.[27] His father will die when he is 16.[28] He will have four sons three of whom will be engaged, like himself, in the service of the country and the fourth will be so so.[29] He will marry at 13.[30]

IV. *Some Observations.*

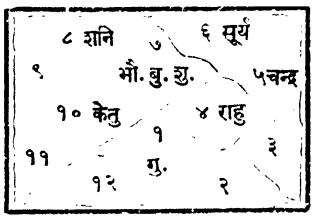
No knowledge is perfect. It is a continual process of development which sometimes slows down and other times speeds up with the ever-varying needs of times. A thing that is decisively proved to-day is shaken down the other day from its very foundation. Thus every branch of human knowledge has got its own market value which goes up or down on account of certain specific reasons. So also with respect to astrology which is not at all a perfect science.[31] Still however it should be said in fairness to every empirical science that it does not easily prove false if it has the experience of thousands of years to back. When I make these remarks I have those people in my mind who are out and out governed and guided by astrological predictions, even in the minutest detail of their lives from shaving to shopping. In fact this is a misapplication of the science in question. The ultimate result of this is fatalism which is not wanted. On the contrary its judicious use consists in taking its help where it can reasonably give, because it reveals but a part of the truth which is infinite. There are a thousand and one pitfalls. Its mathematics is incomparably complex. In the hands of amateurs there is more possibility for mistakes rather than accuracy. It is so very flexible that it can be bent any way. To harmonize a variety of the seemingly conflicting theories requires a disinterested, balanced fortune-teller who is not only a master of his subject but an equally practical man who only has the right to interpret this holy science of the planetary movements in terms of good or bad for us—the human beings below. In short it is but a partial manifestation of the supreme cosmic law which is in operation in this universe and which is bound to remain unknowable as a whole. Thus it is not merely blasphemous but also unprofitable to put unwarranted faith on its forecasts. It is permissible and also better to prognosticate the appearance of a comet and its possible effect because it will surely do no bad if no good. Thus I have always seen that mundane astrology rather than horary has a better chance to be rightly used—at least in this age.

Satyasamhitā is a mystic work. It is less human and more divine. GANDHIJI'S horoscope like others' can be astrologically explained, as shown above, but the graphic delineation of Gandhiji's mental and spiritual characteristics, facts of time and place, robust outpourings regarding his life, mission and achievements evincing majestic self-confidence are such that they simply fall far beyond even extraordinary human intelligence.

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[27] *SS*, st. 67. [28] *SS*, st. 68. [29] *SS*, st. 73.
[30] *SS*, st. 80. [31] Cf. *SS*, st. 54.

V. *Gandhiji's Horoscope*[32] *and its reading according to Orthodox School.*



Mars in the first in *Libra* aspected by Jupiter has given GANDHIJI tenacity of purpose. It is also responsible for his appendicular operation.[33] Venus in the first in *Libra* aspected by Jupiter has made him fond of sexual pleasures and women's company.[34] It has given him health and long life also.[35] His innocent humour, legal acumen and exceptional persuasive power are all due to Mercury in the first in *Libra* aspected by Jupiter.[36] His spiritualism is largely on account of a conjunction of Mercury and Venus in the first aspected by Jupiter and no other malefics. This *Yoga* is, to a certain extent, marred by Mars with them in the first. His disease of blood-pressure is the effect of Mars in the first;[37] while his getting away soon from it, by his sheer self-control, is the result of the aspect of Jupiter which holds it in leash. Saturn in the second in *Scorpio* has made him a slow but steady speaker and has made him travel far and wide. Saturn in the second and Sun in the twelfth have made him short-sighted.[38] This Saturn is making a *Viṣayoga* by its aspect on Moon in the eleventh. It comes in the way of his achieving the ends. This *Viṣayoga* is counterbalanced by Moon's being in *Leo*, under the benign influence of Jupiter which makes with it a *Navapañcamayoga* responsible for his being known to the whole world. Mars aspecting Jupiter in the seventh in *Aries*, his own *Rāśi*, has made him an uncrowned king. Jupiter in the seventh has given him an intensely devoted wife. Rāhu in the tenth in *Cancer* has made him a superb *Sthitaprajña*.[39] Moon in the eleventh in *Leo* accounts for his blind love for parents and Sun

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[32] *SS*, st. 56. The *Iṣṭaghaṭikā* of GANDHIJI'S horoscope is not known to me. I have cast the horoscope according to the *Kuṇḍalikā Śloka* (st. 56) of the *Satyasamhitā* and it is the generally accepted horoscope of GANDHIJI.

[33] *Mānasāgarī Paddhati*, Pub. Khemraj Shrikrishnadas, Vyankateshvar Press, Bombay, 1961 (v.s.), p. 20, *Bhaumaphalam*, *śloka* 1.

[34] *Bhaviṣya Bhāva Phala*, Pub. Talakchand Shirachand, Roopal, 2nd edition, 1932, p. 208, *śl.* 6.

[35] *Sarvārthacintāmaṇi*, Pub. Khemraj Shrikrishnadas, Vyankateshvar Press, Bombay, 1951 (v.s.), p. 11, *śl.* 69.

[36] *Bhaviṣya Bhāva Phala* (cited above), p. 207, *śl.* 4.

[37] *Camatkāracintāmaṇi*, Pub. Khemraj Shrikrishnadas, Vyankateshvar Press, Bombay, 1995 (v.s.), p. 23, *śl.* 1.

[38] *Op. cit.*, p. 14, *śl.* 12.

[39] *Mānasāgarī Paddhati* (cited above), p. 23. *Rāhuphalam*, *śl.* 10.

in the twelfth has created enemies and killed them.[40] This also explains his imprisonment. The lord of the second in the first with the *Lagneśa* and Mercury aspected by Jupiter have placed the country's wealth at his feet.[41] He has cars at his disposal because Saturn aspects Ketu in the fourth in *Capricorn* which is his own *Rāśi*.

VI. *Criticism.*

Had I not known that it is GANDHIJI'S horoscope, I would have differently interpreted it. Why? The reason is obvious. Astrological knowledge does not make its possessor an omniscient being. More persons than one are born at one and the same time in this world. Still no two are alike. For the most part they turn out fundamentally different. Take the example of twins. Thus astrology cannot probe deep. Its claims should not be exaggerated. As it has its origin in human experiences and observations, it has its own crudities and limitations.

Mars in the first in GANDHIJI'S horoscope could have as well produced a scar on the forehead[42] and Saturn would have made the native quarrelsome.[43] He could not have cherished a dying love for his parents, with Ketu and Rāhu in the fourth and tenth respectively. Jupiter in the seventh ought to have rather given him a wife of distinguished academic qualifications. With Moon in the eleventh he would naturally have more daughters than sons.[44] He would not have been able to make two ends meet with Sun in the twelfth inclined to declination.[45] But we see it is not so. I do not mean to say that no astrological reasons can be attached. On the contrary, astrology can be made to support and justify the *Satyasamhitā* reading of GANDHIJI'S horoscope. But here the vital question is that of foretelling and not of supporting or justifying.

VII. *Conclusion.*

I have therefore come to believe that *Satyasamhitā* is not a work of purely astrological character. It shows its author has a vision which sees objects beyond time and space,[46] though the *Satyasamhitā* reading also is inaccurate at times.[47] Or there is another conclusion also possible. And it is this that there was in ancient times a plenty of *Samhitā* literature with an elaborate technique which gave only the results leaving to the orthodox school of astrology to explain. In other words, the *Samhitās* were supplementary, and not antagonistic, to *Jātakas* and *Siddhāntas* of the established

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40 *Bhaviṣya Bhāva Phala* (cited above), p. 262, *śl.* 1.
41 *Mānasāgarī Paddhati* (cited above), p. 28, *Dvitiyabhavaneśaphalam*, *śl.* 1.
42 *Camatkāracintāmaṇi* (cited above), p. 23, *śl.* 1.
43 *Mānasāgarī Paddhati* (cited above), p. 41, *śl.* 8.
44 *Bhaviṣya Bhāva Phala* (cited above), p. 251, *śl.* 2; p. 307, *śl.* 2.
45 *Mānasāgarī Paddhati* (cited above), p. 31, *śl.* 12.
46 *SS*, st. 20. 47 *Cf. SS*, st. 52.

schools of astrology. The principles on which these *Samhitās* might be ultimately resting, cannot be found out by merely comparing different readings of only one *Samhitā*. For that, one should collect different *Samhitā* readings of one and the same horoscope and study them. Then and then only their stand can be rightly understood. Normally these *Samhitā* works are found in the Deccan. I have heard of the *Bhadrabāhusamhitā*, *Bhṛgusamhitā* and *Satyasamhitā*, but I have also heard that there are still more *Nāḍigranthas*. I am sure an attempt to unearth these *Samhitās* will yield rich results.

(१)

सत्यसंहितोत्पत्तिः*

उज्जयिन्यां महाराजः पूर्वं शत्रुविशोधनः ।
विक्रमादित्यभूपालो भूम्यां शक्र इवापरः ॥ १ ॥
दाने कर्णो गुणैः पूर्णो गाम्भीर्ये चार्णवोपमः ।
पण्डितानाञ्च पोषी स्यात् पूर्वभाषी प्रियंवदः ॥ २ ॥
काव्यनाटकवेत्ता च महाकविरपि स्वयम् ।
मोदवान् गुणवान् लोके शास्त्रज्ञानविनोदवान् ॥ ३ ॥
चतुःषष्टिकलाभूमिः सर्वभूमिपसेवितः ।
राजनीतिमहादक्षो रिपुराजसुशिक्षणः ॥ ४ ॥
गुणवान् गुणपक्षी च श्रितरक्षां विवेद यः ।
तत्सभायां सभातारा बहवश्च तदाऽभवन् ॥ ५ ॥
कुशाग्रधिषणः प्राज्ञो धिषणेन समो भुवि ।
गणितज्ञो महाप्राज्ञो ज्योतिःशास्त्रविशारदः ॥ ६ ॥
तेष्वेकोऽभून्महाबुद्धिः **सत्याचार्य** इति श्रुतः ।
नानातन्त्रेषु कुशलो ज्योतिःशास्त्रविचक्षणः ॥ ७ ॥
महायोगी महाज्ञानी देवतागुरुभक्तिमान् ।
सर्वसिद्धान्तवेत्ता च तत्त्ववित्तत्त्वबोधकः ॥ ८ ॥

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* I have taken this from the December issue of the *Gujarat*, 1931 a now defunct monthly magazine in Gujarati—edited by Shri K. M. MUNSHI, President of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. He has also got with him the Samhitā readings of some other notable persons. We intend to publish in this journal our researches regarding them at our convenience. The Samhitā branch of Astrology has not been, hitherto, scientifically studied and hence it is our keen desire to publish such studies so as to put it as far as possible on a rational basis. Those interested are cordially invited to contribute. We also request those who have got the Samhitā readings to provide us with the same so that we may get a chance to present our studies as perfectly as possible.

To give just the correct idea of the nature and characteristics of the Samhitā text, no attempt at emendation has been made. It is, doubtless, incorrect materially, metrically, grammatically, syntactically and idiomatically at more places than one. The stanzas are so simple that even a layman can understand them at the first reading.

भूतं भाव्यं वर्तमानं प्रत्यक्षं वेत्ति बुद्धिमान् ।
सखा कविर्महामन्त्री पण्डितो हितबोधकः ॥ ९ ॥
सत्याचार्यो महामेधाः तस्य राज्ञस्तादाऽभवत् ।
विक्रमार्कमहीपस्य सर्वं भावीफलन्तदा ॥ १० ॥
करामलकवत् प्राज्ञो दर्शयामास सत्तमः ।
अभिमानप्रदं राज्ञा तन्मूलात्स तु पण्डितः ॥ ११ ॥
एवं बहुतिथे काले समतीते कदाचन ।
भाविनाञ्च मनुष्याणां सर्वजातिजुषामपि ॥ १२ ॥
सर्ववृत्तं विजानासि तन्मे ब्रूहि महामते ।
विक्रमार्के विनीते च श्रद्धया परिपृच्छति ॥ १३ ॥
सत्याचार्यो महामेधाः प्रत्युवाच शुचिस्मितः ।
भृगुर्गुरुर्महाः सर्वे चन्द्रसूर्याग्नयोऽनिलः ॥ १४ ॥
हरो हरिस्तथा स्रष्टा नैव ते विफलं विदुः ।
अतीत्यैतान्भवेद्ब्रह्मः त्वदधीनं जगद्भवेत् ॥ १५ ॥
तस्यानुग्रहमूलेन यस्य कस्यापि सम्भवेत् ।
तव प्रीत्या विवक्ष्येऽहं मम यद्बुद्धिगोचरम् ॥ १६ ॥
सत्याचार्यो महामेधा अवकाशे दिने दिने ।
विक्रमार्कमहीपस्य शास्त्रमेतज्जगौ पुरा ॥ १७ ॥
ज्योतिःशास्त्रतरोर्बीजं लोकज्ञानस्य जन्मभूः ।
ज्योतिर्विदाञ्च जीवातुः कवीनां विश्रमस्थलम् ॥ १८ ॥
अर्थार्जने सहायश्च आपदर्णोनिधिप्लवः ।
सत्याचार्यवचो हित्वा किमन्यद्भुवि विद्यते ॥ १९ ॥
होरामूलात् क्वचिद्ज्ञानं गणितादिनाञ्च मूलतः ।
योगप्रभावमूलेन शास्त्रमेतद्विनिश्चितम् ॥ २० ॥

(२)

प्रथमभावः

श्रीपतीं प्रणिपत्याहं प्रणम्य च नवग्रहान् ।
लोकानामुपकाराय वक्ष्येऽहं **सत्यसंहिताम्** ॥ २१ ॥
कुञ्जरांशे पूर्वभागे तुलालग्नस्य जातके ।
वैश्यजन्मा भवेज्जातः विष्णुभक्तमताश्रयी ॥ २२ ॥
पश्चिमप्रान्तगे देशे अर्णवप्रान्तदेशगे ।
पुण्यनगरे जननं पुण्यक्षेत्रे भविष्यति ॥ २३ ॥
स्वपिता सुखजीवी च राजमन्त्री भवेदपि ।
माता गुणवती साध्वी मध्यायुष्का भविष्यति ॥ २४ ॥
जातकः सुन्दराङ्गश्च किञ्चित्श्यामशरीरवान् ।
सात्त्विको भैविता जातः सदाचारो भविष्यति ॥ २५ ॥

लोकानां हितकारी च स्वकार्यञ्च परित्यजेत् ।
जन्मभूमिं परित्यज्य नातिदूरे निवासवान् ॥ २६ ॥
महानदीतीरभूमौ सुखवासी भविष्यति ।
विंशपूर्वोपरिकाले विदेशे पठनं भवेत् ॥ २७ ॥
नीतिशास्त्रप्रसङ्गादौ बुद्धिमेति पदे पदे ।
द्वात्रींशे वत्सरे काले द्वीपान्तरनिवासवान् ॥ २८ ॥
न्यायदर्शी च भविता प्रसिद्धश्च भविष्यति ।
विद्यावान् भविता जातो नानाविद्याविशारदः ॥ २९ ॥
पूर्वभाषी च भविता मृदुभाषी भविष्यति ।
सर्वां भूमिः कुटुम्बञ्च लोकानां हितमाचरेत् ॥ ३० ॥
सत्यभाषी यशस्वी च सर्वैश्चादरणीयवाक् ।
सर्वे जनाः बभूवुश्च अस्यैव वचने स्थिताः ॥ ३१ ॥
स्वदेशवस्त्रधारी च अन्यानपि धारयेत् ।
महाजनसभामध्ये मृदुभाषी प्रियंवदः ॥ ३२ ॥
न गर्वी नाभिमानी च सुगुणी च भवेन्नरः ।
विष्णोरंशो भवेज्जातो रक्षणार्थं भुवं गतः ॥ ३३ ॥
बहुमैत्री च जायते जगन्मित्रं भवेदयम् ।
बहिरन्तःसमाकारो विशुद्धोऽयं भविष्यति ॥ ३४ ॥
विशालहृदयो जातो विशुद्धहृदयस्तथा ।
..... ॥ ३५ ॥
देवांशो यो भवेज्जातस्तन्निवृत्त्यै भविष्यति ।
ग्रहस्थाश्रमवासी च आश्रमे प्रीतिमान् भवेत् ॥ ३६ ॥
न तथा सौख्यभाग् जातो जगदर्थे च कष्टभाक् ।
कारागारनिवेशादि बहुवारं भविष्यति ॥ ३७ ॥
पञ्चचत्वारिके पूर्वे पञ्चपञ्चाशते पुरा ।
कारागारप्रवेशश्च ज्वरपीडा भविष्यति ॥ ३८ ॥
द्विषष्टौ राहुदाये च बहुकष्टञ्च जायते ।
षट्षष्टौ वत्सरे याते यत्नकार्यानुकूलनम् ॥ ३९ ॥
राज्ये सौकर्यमादेश्यं स्वातन्त्र्यं कुत्रचिद् भवेत् ।
यत्नकार्ये सिद्धकल्पो जातकस्य भविष्यति ॥ ४० ॥
ज्ञानमार्गे प्रवृत्तिश्च नीतिमार्गे प्रवृत्तिमान् ।
जगदर्थे कष्टभाग् च उपवासञ्च चरेदपि ॥ ४१ ॥
दीर्घजीवी भविता सप्तत्यतीतं परं वयः ।
षष्टिपूर्वे कष्टता च जातकस्य भविष्यति ॥ ४२ ॥
सप्ततौ वत्सरे पूर्वे महान्गण्डश्च जायते ।
महामृत्युञ्जयजापं तस्मिन्काले समाचरेत् ॥ ४३ ॥
जनभारविनम्रा च भूमिर्विष्णुमुपेयुषी ।
..... ॥ ४४ ॥

गच्छ शीघ्रं **ममांशेन** तव स्वास्थ्यं करोमि च ।
पञ्चचत्वारिके पश्चाद् स्वदेशे वासवान् भवेत् ॥ ४५ ॥
जगद्धितार्थे कार्यञ्च वर्षे वर्षे भविष्यति ।
पञ्चषष्टौ गते काले यत्नकार्यस्य सिद्धिमान् ॥ ४६ ॥
तत्पूर्वं विघ्नमादेश्यं मनसि क्लेशवान् भवेत् ।
राजपक्षे स्वपक्षे च विरोधश्च भविष्यति ॥ ४७ ॥
.....।
एकषष्टौ तदा वर्षे विरोधश्च महान्भवेत् ॥ ४८ ॥
द्विषष्टौ वत्सरे काले किञ्चिद् शमनमादिशेत् ।
किञ्चिद् स्वातन्त्र्यमादेश्यमस्वस्थश्च भवेन्नरः ॥ ४९ ॥
विदेशगमनञ्चैव पञ्चषष्टिकपूर्वके ।
श्वेतप्रभुःसार्वभौमस्तस्य दर्शनमादिशेत् ॥ ५० ॥
तस्य मूलात्कार्यसिद्धिर्जातकस्य भविष्यति ।
पश्चात्स्वदेशवासी च आश्रमे वासवान् भवेत् ॥ ५१ ॥
ज्ञानमार्गप्रवृत्तिश्च जातकस्य भविष्यति ।
सप्तितवत्सरे पूर्वं योगसिद्धिश्च जायते ॥ ५२ ॥
नसङ्गवकलिसंख्ये शुक्लवर्षे च सूर्ये
गतवति ललनांशे मन्दवारे मघाभे ।
भवति च तुलल्ग्ने जायमानश्च जातः
भवति च गुणशाली भाग्यवान् वैश्यजातिः ॥ ५३ ॥
कालदेशविपर्यासान्न्यूनाधिकफलमिदम् ।
को वक्ता तारतम्यस्य तमेकं वेधसं विना ॥ ५४ ॥

(३)

द्वादशभावफलं लिख्यते

श्रीपतीं प्रणीपत्याहं प्रणम्य च नवग्रहान् ।
लोकानामुपकाराय वक्ष्येऽहं **सत्यसंहिताम्** ॥ ५५ ॥
बुधे भृगौ भूमिसूते च लग्ने मन्देऽलिगे मेषगते सुरेज्ये ।
कन्यादिनेशे मृगनाथचन्द्रे राहौ कुलीरे तुलल्गजातः ॥५६॥ (कुण्डलिकाश्लोकः)
कुञ्जरांशे पूर्वभागे तुलालग्नस्य जातके ।
वैश्यजन्मा सुखी जातो **विष्णुभक्तो** मताश्रयी ॥ ५७ ॥
नानाजातिजनाकीर्णे पश्चिमप्रान्तदेशगे ।
नगरे जननञ्चैव पुण्यक्षेत्रे भविष्यति ॥ ५८ ॥
जातको दीर्घजीवी च प्रसन्नमुखनेत्रवान् ।
समांशः समदेही च किञ्चित्श्यामशरीरवान् ॥ ५९ ॥
सात्त्विको धर्मशाली च साक्षात्सत्त्वं शरीरभाक् ।
जन्मावनिं परित्यज्य द्वित्रिस्थलनिवासवान् ॥ ६० ॥

विंशत्यब्दे परे काले विदेशे वासमादिशेत् ।
कष्टभाग् भविता जातो लोकार्थे बहुकष्टकृत् ॥ ६१ ॥
देशभाषादेवभाषा.....भाषाविशारदः ।
मृदुभाषी सत्यभाषी सारभाषी भवेन्नरः ॥ ६२ ॥
तस्य वाक्यानुसारी च लोको लोकहितैषिणः ।
स्वदेशवस्त्रधारी च सर्वानपि च धारयेत् ॥ ६३ ॥
बहुभार्यापतिः स्यात् पश्चाद्भार्यासमुद्भवः ।
स्वप्राबल्यविशेषेण लोके प्रख्यातकीर्तिमान् ॥ ६४ ॥
क्षमी शीली च भविता न कदापि च कोपवान् ।
वस्त्रालङ्कारसौख्यञ्च न तथा रुचिमान् भवेत् ॥ ६५ ॥
जगन्मित्रं भवेज्जातो जगतामुपकारकृत् ।
माता गुणवती साध्वी मध्यायुष्यवती भवेत् ॥ ६६ ॥
विदेशवासे जातस्य परोक्षे मातृनाशकृत् ।
नेत्रे नेत्रे तदा वर्षे मातृकष्टञ्च जायते ॥ ६७ ॥
स्वपिता राजमन्त्री च राजन्यजनमित्रवान् ।
षोडशाब्दे तदा काले पितृनाशश्च जायते ॥ ६८ ॥
विशुद्धहृदयो जातो विशालहृदयस्तथा ।
बहिरन्तःसमाकारः सज्जनो भविता गुणी ॥ ६९ ॥
यदेव हृदये तिष्ठेत् तत्तदेवाचरेत् सुधीः ।
लोकमान्यो भवेद्धन्यो नेदृशोऽन्यो जनेष्यति ॥ ७० ॥
निस्समाभ्यधिको जातो देवांशोऽयं भविष्यति ।
लोककल्याणहेतुश्च देवोऽयं मर्त्यरूपतः ॥ ७१ ॥
गुणबाहुल्यपात्रञ्च गणितुं नैव शक्यते ।
यथा ताराश्च गगने तथा मर्त्ये गुणाः स्थिताः ॥ ७२ ॥
वेदपुत्राश्च जायेरन् तेऽपि लोकहितैषिणः ।
पुत्रवर्गे भवेदेको मध्यवृत्तिश्च जायते ॥ ७३ ॥
न गर्वी नाभिमानी च विनयी सुनयी नरः ।
बुद्धिमान् भविता जातः सन्मार्गेऽयं प्रवृत्तिभाक् ॥ ७४ ॥
आगामिसूचनाबुद्धिः परेषां बुद्धिदायकः ।
धीरः साहसवान् जातः कार्याकार्यविवेकवान् ॥ ७५ ॥
महाविघ्ने च सम्प्राप्ते स्वकार्यं न परित्यजेत् ।
असाध्यमपि कार्यञ्च स्वबुद्धया साधयेदपि ॥ ७६ ॥
अनृणो भविता जातः सुखजीवी भवेन्नरः ।
मध्ये मध्ये कापि पीडा दशानाथस्य शान्तिकृत् ॥ ७७ ॥
दीर्घजीवी च भविता इति सत्यस्य सम्मतम् ।
बाणे रसे पुरा पश्चात् कष्टभाग् मृत्युहोमकृत् ॥ ७८ ॥
भार्यैका भविता साध्वी रूपशीलगुणान्विता ।
पतिव्रता महाभागा छायेवानुगता सदा ॥ ७९ ॥

जातकष्टे कष्टभागा जातसौख्ये सुखान्विता ।
बाल्ये विवाहसिद्धिश्च त्रयोदशकवत्सरे ॥ ८० ॥
मातृतुल्यपरस्त्रीकः एकपत्निव्रतश्चरेत् ।
भाग्यवान् भविता जातो न तथा भूरिभाग्यवान् ॥ ८१ ॥
मध्ये मध्ये कष्टभाग् च भाग्यभङ्गश्च जायते ।
धर्मे मार्गे मतिश्चैव साक्षाद्धर्म इवापरः ॥ ८२ ॥
सुकर्मा मानवान् जातः कर्मकौशल्यवान् भवेत् ।
न्यायदर्शी न्यायवादी द्वीपान्तरनिवासवान् ॥ ८३ ॥
..... ।
जनोपकारकरणो बन्धनादिककष्टभाक् ॥ ८४ ॥
पञ्चचत्वारिके वर्षे स्वदेशागमनं भवेत् ।
देशसेवी भवेज्जातो देशानामुपकारकृत् ॥ ८५ ॥
राज्ञा सह विरोधश्च राजभीतिश्च जायते ।
कारागारनिवेशादिबहुकष्टं भविष्यति ॥ ८६ ॥
वयोऽन्ते ज्ञानशाली च देवतागुरुभक्तिमान् ।
योगानुष्ठानकुशलो योगसिद्धिश्च जायते ॥ ८७ ॥
धनलाभो विशेषेण धर्ममार्गे व्ययो भवेत् ।
पञ्चमे वत्सरे पूर्वे पितामातासुखावहः ॥ ८८ ॥
दशमाब्दे परे काले सुखदाये तदा पुनः ।
विद्याभ्यासश्च कुर्वीत.....पठिष्यति ॥ ८९ ॥
विंशत्यब्दे पूर्वकाले भार्यासौख्यसुखोद्भवः ।
विदेशगमनं वासो नीतिशास्त्रप्रसङ्गकृत् ॥ ९० ॥
त्रिंशत्पूर्वे तु जातश्च नीतिशास्त्रविशारदः ।
स्वदेशागमनं जातं न हि सौकर्यजीवनम् ॥ ९१ ॥
पश्चाद् द्वीपान्तरे वासो द्वित्रिस्थलनिवासवान् ।
चत्वारिंवत्सरे पूर्वे न्यायदर्शी प्रसिद्धिमान् ॥ ९२ ॥
पश्चाद् विसर्जनश्चैव देशसेवादिमूलतः ।
बहुकष्टश्च जायते चतुश्चत्वारिके पुरा ॥ ९३ ॥
पञ्चचत्वारिके काले स्वदेशागमनं भवेत् ।
देशानां हितकारी च बहूनामुपदेशकृत् ॥ ९४ ॥
कारागारनिवेशादिबहुकष्टश्च जायते ।
यत्कार्ये महान्विघ्नो राजभीतिर्महत्यपि ॥ ९५ ॥
बन्धनं मरणश्चैव बहूनाञ्च भविष्यति ।
पञ्चषष्टौ तदा काले जातकस्य तदा परे ॥ ९६ ॥
एकषष्टौ वत्सरे च विरोधश्च महान् भवेत् ।
द्विषष्टौ वत्सरे काले विदेशगमनं भवेत् ॥ ९७ ॥
श्वेतप्रभु सार्वभौमस्तत्यदर्शनमादिशेत् ।
तन्मूलात्कार्यसिद्धिश्च जातकस्य क्वचिद्भवेत् ॥ ८९ ॥

देवांशोऽयं भवेज्जातो मानुषं रूपमास्थितः ।
विष्णोरंशश्च जायते इति **सत्यस्य** सम्मतम् ॥ ९९ ॥
पश्चादपि च जातश्च ज्ञानमार्गे प्रवृत्तिकृत् ।
कृष्णदेवे च भक्तिश्च विरक्तिश्च भविष्यति ॥ १०० ॥
कृते **नृसिंह**रूपेण त्रेतायां **रघु**रूपतः ।
द्वापरे **कृष्ण**रूपेण कलौ **वंशेन** जायते ॥ १०१ ॥
आदौ केतुदशा पिता च सुखवान् शुक्रे च विद्यापटुः
वैवाहादिशुभञ्च पुत्रजननं पित्रोर्विनष्टं भवेत् ।
सूर्ये शीतकरे गुणी सममुखी भौमे स्वदेशे वसेत्
राहौ यत्नविरोधनश्च विमना अन्ते भवेत् सिद्धिगः ॥ १०२ ॥
इदृशानाञ्च महतां विरलं जन्म जायते ।
पञ्चसाहस्रिके पूर्वे कलौ वर्षे भवन्ति च ॥ १०३ ॥
यथा नभसि ताराश्च नद्यां वै सिकता यथा ।
एवं गुणगणांस्तस्य गणितुं नैव शक्यते ॥ १०४ ॥
गुणारामे यथा रामे प्रजा आसन्कृते युगे ।
कलावपि गुणाम्भोधौ तत्र ..... च ॥ १०५
कालदेशविपर्यासान्न्यूनाधिकफलमिदम् ।
को वक्ता तारतम्यस्य तमेकं वेधसं विना ॥ १०६ ॥

इति **सत्यसंहितायां** तुलालग्नजातके कुञ्जरांशफलं । शुभं भूयात् ॥

INDUS CIVILIZATION*

III. Ceramics, Seals and Sealings, Shell, Ivory, Faience, &c.

By

Dr. A. D. PUSALKER, M.A., LL.B., PH.D.

THIS time I shall deal with ceramics, seals and sealings, shell, ivory, faience, pastes and plaster, and metals and minerals.[1]

CERAMICS : Ceramics has rightly been regarded as the *terra firma* of archæology. Pottery is the most abundant material left at Mohenjo-Daro. Pottery again, is, except very rarely, manufactured at the site and furnishes a local touch. In Egypt, the study of various types of pottery belonging to different ages and periods has been reduced to exact science, and a scheme of sequence has been evolved based on pottery.

Excavations at Nineveh, in a mound dug up 92′ to virgin soil, reveal five successive cultures going back to 5000 B.C. The earliest is a plain, coarse, incised ware, followed by brilliant three-colour decorations on a varnished slip. Then came grey varnished pottery, after which is placed the Erech red ware of C. 4000 B.C. Finally, the wheel-made painted pottery and incised pottery made their appearance. Tombs at Tepe Gaura antedate the royal tombs at Ur, and belong to about 3700 B. C. Mesopotamia in this age was connected with Anatolia and Syria to the west, and Baluchistan to the east. Pottery of the painted Ur type carries this to the 5th millennium B. C., the delicate egg-shell pottery. Sir Leonard WOOLLEY suggests the following sequence of time. The early five wares of Susa may be assigned C. 4250 B.C. The five wares of Musyan and Tel-el-Obeid reveal the transitional stage between the natural and geometric designs, and pertain, according to Dr. FRANKFORT, to a later stage, i.e., C. 4000 B.C. Still later comes the polychrome pottery of Kish I, Susa II and North Syria. Latest of all are the earliest remains at Ur, of about 3100 B.C.[2]

* Extension Lecture delivered on March 9, 1942. The first two lectures have appeared in *Bhāratiya Vidyā*, III, pp. 21-39 and pp. 140-159.

[1] Sir John MARSHALL'S *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization* (London, 1931), Dr. E. J. H. MACKY'S *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-Daro* (Delhi, 1938), Pandit M. S. VATS'S *Excavations at Harappa* (Delhi, 1940), Mr. N. G. MAJUMDAR'S *Explorations in Sind* (Delhi, 1934), and Rao Bahadur K. N. DIKSHIT'S *Prehistoric Civilization of the Indus Valley* (Madras, 1939) have been largely drawn upon for this lecture ; and in view of this general acknowledgment of indebtedness, I have but rarely referred to these books in the footnotes. Unless otherwise specifically stated, references to Plates and Seal Nos. are from the *MIC*.

[2] Cf. FRANKFORT, *Archæology and the Sumerian Problem* (Chicago, 1932) ; Srikanta SASTRI, *IHQ*, XVI, pp. 511-523 ; VENKATESVARA, *Cult. Her.*, III, pp. 51-53.

MOHENJO-DARO POTTERY : The clay used for pottery seems to be slightly different from that used by the potters at present. Mohenjo-Daro pottery frequently has sand or lime or both mixed with clay, more often in painted ware than in the plain. Most of the undecorated pottery was made of clay of a good quality that burned pink or light-red in colour. Sometimes a clay that burned grey was employed. But this clay is not confined to any particular type of vessel ; so it seems that jars of this clay were not importations. Perhaps the clay itself was imported ; it apparently required no tempering.

A special paste, very close in texture, containing neither sand nor lime, was sometimes used for smaller jars. Another kind of paste was slate-coloured and was exactly similar to that used in the pre-Sargonic period at Kish. This colour may be obtained in natural clay or by mixing a light-coloured clay with organic substance such as cowdung, which carbonizes when baked. The vessels of this kind of clay are of medium thickness, have neither sand nor lime, nor have they any slip.

It is significant that grey ware was also used in ancient times in other countries outside India, in Sumer, for instance, and among the Danubian and the Minyan wares. The slip mostly used on unpainted ware was cream-coloured, sometimes with yellowish tinge, sometimes almost white, varying much in thickness. Slip of red oxide was used for most of the better class pottery. Chocolate-coloured slips are somewhat rare. Chocolate and purple slips took their colour from manganese, sometimes apparently mixed with a little red oxide.

The Mohenjo-Daro ware was well baked in the kilns, some of which are recently found in the DK Area. It was previously assumed that open kiln was used for baking pottery at Mohenjo-Daro ; but more kilns have been found later on.[3] Kilns were circular in shape with arrangements for heating underneath a floor provided with flues. The arrangement generally resembles that in the pottery kilns at Kish : there was a pit for fuel, and a domed compartment above to hold the vessel to be baked, the communication between the two being effected by round holes in the floor of the upper chamber. But the kilns at Kish were rectangular. At Jemdet Nasr, kilns similar to those at Mohenjo-Daro were found, but M. WATELIN described them as bread ovens. At Susa, a rectangular kiln similar to the Kish one, is dated to the second period. Thus, a potter's kiln of an advanced type was in use in Sind, Elam and Sumer at a very early period. Dr. MACKAY has expressed surprise at the open furnace used in the villages around in modern Sind, when nearly 3500 years ago, efficient kilns were used.[4] In contradiction to Dr. MACKAY'S statement, Dr. GHURYE says that he saw built-up kilns for the purpose of firing at Hala and Sehwan.[5]

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[3] *Fur. Exc.*, p. 177 ; *MIC*, pp. 62, 102.
[4] *Fur. Exc.*, p. 177.
[5] *Journ. Univ. Bom.*, IV, p. 6.

Practically all pottery is wheel-made, hand-made ware being rare. Hand-made ware is uncommon in upper levels, but a good many examples have recently been unearthed from the lower levels especially the lowest. Potter's wheel, according to Dr. HALL, was invented in Elam[6]; but this is doubtful as no chariot wheel has so far been discovered there, and the idea of the chariot wheel originated with the potter.

Few jars were made in two pieces, joined when still wet and returned to the wheel for final trimming. Trimming of the lower part of a vessel was done with a knife or any similar instrument. Trimming was not confined to Mohenjo-Daro alone; it is found in Egypt, as also in Macedonian and Minoan ware.

All pottery is well baked; there is practically not a single underfired jar or potsherd.

There is very little handled pottery, although in Egypt and Babylon such vessels were common in earlier periods.

A great majority of vases has flat bases, while very few are with round bases. Certain types have very pointed bases, requiring special jar-stands for support. The commonest drinking vessel had a knob or point at the bottom. Decoration of pottery jars by scoring them with a comb or a similar instrument was not at all common at Mohenjo-Daro. It is not possible even to refer to the various types into which pottery has been classified by archæologists. Reference is made in the footnote to a few of the unusual types as also to some common types.[7] Among pottery, special mention may be made of a little theriomorphic vessel, 5·35″ long, in the form of a couchant ram.[8] Though such vessels are well known in the ancient sites of the Near and Middle East, this is the only one found in prehistoric India. Representations of sheep, however, are rare on theriomorphic vessels, and Dr. MACKAY records only two other specimens. Sir Arthur EVANS regards some of the theriomorphic vessels to have been used as inkstands, which is not improbable, especially in the case of the Mohenjo-Daro specimen as black stains were found inside it.

Stereotyped forms of the unpainted pottery are uninteresting. Want of merit may be due to the uniform character necessary for mass production, and need not necessarily be due to the potter's art being primitive. With the

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[6] *Cam. Anc. Hist.*, I, p. 579.

[7] Rare types: Knobbed ware, which is wheel-made, is unusual in its technique; there is only one complete specimen (Pl. LXVI. 54, *Fur. Exc.*) made of porous, light grey paste in which knobs are arranged almost regularly in five rows; inscribed pottery, on some recent specimens inscriptions were cut after the vessels were baked; spouted vessels; fluted pottery; ribbed pottery; cylindrical ware; suspended vessels; etc. Common types: scored pottery; grey ware; offering stands; miniature toilet and funerary vessels; jar stands; beakers; heaters; dishes; jar covers; vases; basins; etc.

[8] Pl. LXVI. 23 (*Fur. Exc.*): *Fur. Exc.*, p. 188; MACKAY, *JRSA*, 82, p. 221.

exception of one or two types there are no similarities between the potteries of Mohenjo-Daro and ancient Sumer. Among the pottery at Mohenjo-Daro, straight and angular shapes are the exception, and graceful curves, the rule. Moreover, very few pieces have the angular projection or carination at the junction of shoulder and body which is so common a feature of the wares at Musyan and Susa, and which is also present in some of the pottery from Kish. In the frequent use of the brilliant red slip, a great deal of the pottery of Mohenjo-Daro is comparable with the ware at Jemdet Nasr, and also with some of the wares at Musyan and Susa II. It is somewhat curious that only two types of vessels have a handle. Handles are also rare among the early wares of Sumer and Elam, save for simple perforated lugs. Flat-based vessels were in more general use than those with a rounded or pointed base.

Now, to turn to painted pottery, we find that it is comparatively less common ; but its technique and designs are distinctive from those of historic period. Perfect pieces in the painted ware are rather rare. The colour most commonly used in decorating pottery was black, a manganiferous hæmatite ; the same pigment is used for the painted pottery of Sind even today. Red paints were hardly used in the monochrome decoration, while there are very few examples of the polychrome ware. The colour materials were red ochre for the red paint and gypsum for the white ; sometimes a green pigment, terre verte. Small vessels were painted with brushes made of hair. Reed pen was used for certain details.

On most of the painted jars, the decoration was applied over a wash or a slip. Washes were on the whole rare, being distinguished from slips by the surface of the jar showing through them in places. Slips were coloured buff, cream, pink and red.

The paste, of which painted pottery was made, was a very carefully kneaded light clay, which on being fired, turns a light salmon red colour. Sometimes mica occurs in the paste in large quantities. In the grey ware, the paste has a curious soapy feeling ; the surface is carefully polished, but has no slip. All the specimens are perfectly baked.

Painted wares have been classified into two groups, viz. (1) those decorated with simple lines, and (2) those on which designs and motifs are painted. The first group has simple, horizontal bands. There are numerous designs and motifs employed in decorating the second group, of which some are mentioned in the footnote.[9] Though fluted ware in pottery has been discovered, no specimens of fluted metal work are found at Mohenjo-Daro.

The borders are of various kinds.[10]

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[9] Comb motif, also found at Susa, but absent from Jemdet Nasr, Sistan and Musyan wares ; V motif ; hide motif ; intersecting circle motif ; cross-like and geometric motifs ; etc.

[10] Rounded borders, not found at Jemdet Nasr, Sistan, Susa and Musyan wares ; bead borders ; hemispherical borders ; zigzag borders ; triangles with incurved circles ; chequer borders ; etc.

After comparisons with the painted wares of other countries, Dr. MACKAY provisionally places the Mohenjo-Daro painted pottery between Susa II, Musyan, Jemdet Nasr period and the Nal pottery, i.e., between the 4th millennium and the first quarter of the 3rd millennium B.C.[11]

POLYCHROME WARE : The polychrome ware of Mohenjo-Daro is quite distinctive resembling the wares of Sumer and Elam neither in the designs used, nor in the mode of decoration. It shows painting of vermilion and black on a ground of cream. Besides these were used green, terre verte and also bright yellow. Red and yellow appear to be earth colours ; black may be a soot of some kind.

Curiously enough, the only glazed pottery at Mohenjo-Daro comes from a very early level. It would perhaps be unsafe to regard this glazed ware as imported, for nothing like it has yet been found either in Sumer or Elam.

INCISED WARE : Very few examples, and all, comparatively small fragments, have been found of the incised ware. The incised decoration at Mohenjo-Daro was confined to the bases of the pans, always inside, and to the dishes of offering-stands. Ware incised otherwise than by comb is very rare in upper levels, while quite a few specimens have been found from the lower levels. Several of the patterns recall shells, and some of them were actually made with a shell as a tool. Occasionally, but rarely, hand-made pottery vessels were decorated with incised designs.

EGG-SHELL POTTERY : Prof. BANERJI has noted fine egg-shell pottery which is absent in Susa and Babylon.[12] This is locally known as Kagzi, i.e. paper-like, and is of exquisitely delicate workmanship.[13]

Then we come to the various types of pottery found by Mr. MAJUMDAR in his explorations in Sind.[14]

Hill men, lake-dwellers and those on the banks of the Indus—all used wheel-made pottery. Hand-made pottery, though not altogether absent, was produced under exceptional circumstances. The following is the classification of pottery. First comes the thin ware of buff or light red clay with purely geometric patterns. In Sind, it was first found at Amri, then at Lohri and at other sites in the hills of Western Sind. This ware is bichrome, but frequently polychrome effect is produced by the use of a reddish brown band. Vessels of this type, mostly beakers and bowls, are rimless. Next comes the well-baked thick ware of bright terra cotta colour with decorations in black on polished red slip, varying between Indian red and vermilion. It has a combination of geometric devices with plants and animal forms.

Black-on-red ware is pretty common at Chanhu-Daro, Ghazi Shah, Karehet and Shahjo-Katiro. Some sites have plain or undecorated pottery, show-

[11] *MIC*, pp. 333-34. [12] *Mod. Rev.*, Dec. 1924, p. 674.
[13] Bherumal MAHIRCHAND, *Mohenjo-Daro*, p. 60.
[14] Especially pp. 50 f, 61 ff, 66 ff, 81 ff, 90 ff, 114 ff, 121, 125 ff, 148 ff.

ing paucity of painted pottery. As at Mohenjo-Daro, painted specimens are comparatively few, vast majority being of the undecorated class, at Lakhiyo and Ali Murad. Painted pottery is profuse at lower levels at Chanhu-Daro, while at upper stratum it is far less common. In Baluchistan, Suktagen-dor represents a culture closely allied to Mohenjo-Daro on account of the striking rarity of painted pottery as compared to the plain fabric. It appears that the painted pottery had a very wide currency over Sind and Baluchistan in its initial stages and gradually became rare in course of time. At Ghazi Shah, black-on-red pottery was found at lowest levels. It is therefore clear that black-on-red technique was prevalent over a long period of time, and these sites represent at least two phases of the Indus culture, one co-existent with the pale ware culture and another posterior to it. Mohenjo-Daro belongs to a later phase, when people became more matter-of-fact and utilitarian in their outlook, and preferred the hard-burnt red ware to the more delicate and indifferently burnt pale fabric.

Ceramic remains at Nal, Nundara and kindred sites in Baluchistan, which show a geometric style, form a distinct group by themselves, related to the pale wares of Sistan and areas farther afield. On the other hand, fabrics of a typical black-on-red class, representing a mixture of geometric, zoomorphic and plant forms from the sites in North Baluchistan, like Dabarkot, form another group intruding into this zone of pale pottery. This group can be directly affiliated to the culture zone of the Indus. Similarly, the pale ware of Sind, which bears a family likeness to the potteries of Kulli-Mehi, Nal and Nundara is also an intrusive element in the Indus Valley.

Sir Aurel STEIN's stratification of certain sites in Baluchistan has led him to the conclusion that the Kulli-Mehi ware belongs to an earlier epoch as compared to that of Nal. Stratigraphical evidence shows Amri pottery to be earlier than the Mohenjo-Daro pottery.

The pottery of Harappa is, " in all main essentials, identical with that of Mohenjo-Daro."[15] Almost every type of pottery from Mohenjo-Daro is found at Harappa. Stamped or inscribed pottery which is hardly found at Mohenjo-Daro, is fairly common at Harappa. The inscriptions are either potters' marks or owners' names. Scored globlets with pointed bases are the only wares which are stamped. More usually, the inscriptions are not stamped but incised. In shape, composition, firing, slip, colouring and decoration, Harappa pottery is very similar to the Mohenjo-Daro ware.

Sir John MARSHALL,[16] has classified the Baluchistan pottery and compared it with the Indus Valley ware ; the conclusion is that " the Indus influence predominated over the eastern districts of Baluchistan and the corresponding districts to the northward of it as also certain places to the south-westward."[17]

[15] *Exc. at Harappa*, p. 275 ; also pp. 286, 287 ; Ch. IX deals with Pottery.
[16] *MIC*, pp. 96-101.
[17] S. K. AIYANGAR, *Hindu Ill. Wkly*, Nov. 12, 1933, p. 7.

Dr. FRANKFORT, on the other hand, pronounces Sir John MARSHALL's comparisons and comparisons made with "various fabrics from Persia and Mesopotamia," as "ill founded and entirely misleading;" according to him, "the painted pottery found in India is the product of an entirely local development, in which traditions of a more ancient ceramic art from the Iranian highlands are incorporated."[18] Prof. BANERJI connects the Indus pottery with Crete and the Aegian region.[19] According to Prof. VENKATESVARA, "the antiquities of Baluchistan are part and parcel of the Indus Valley culture, and do not represent a half way between Sumeria and India."[20] The present writer is unable to hazard any opinion as he has not at his disposal a representative collection of originals.[21]

SEALS: The seals discovered in the various strata constitute one of the most interesting features of the finds. Up to May, 1927, 558 seals were collected, and Dr. MACKAY speaks of 687 seals in the further excavations. Dr. HUNTER states that he examined over two thousand till April 1931.[22] Most of the seals have one or two lines of pictographs or scripts, and the representation of some animal. Steatite, faience, ivory and pottery are the materials used for manufacturing seals. With regard to seals of faience it may be observed that Dr. MACKAY enumerates some seals of faience; but Dr. HUNTER states that "faience does not appear to have been used at Mohenjo-Daro or Harappa for making inscribed seals."[23]

Steatite seals were cut into shape by means of a saw, after which the boss, which occupied nearly a third of the area at the back of the seal, was cut. Then the boss was rounded off after the groove by a knife, and finished off with an abrasive. The designs appear to have been cut with a burin. In most of the seals the work is cleverly done, no evidence of the use of the drill being found though carefully looked for. In carving they first completed the body before outlining the other parts. Inscriptions were added later and were neatly arranged. Almost all the seals were coated with a smooth, glassy looking substance, which, on analysis was found to contain no traces of copper. A similar seal found at Kish still retains the blue or green colouring, which shows that the Indus seals also were possibly coloured, but that the colour has disappeared through long deposit in the damp and salty soil of the site.

Of the seals recovered in further excavations, most were made of steatite, generally white, but sometimes grey, dull yellow, or even black. Steatite was hardened by heating, and no coating was necessary in the case of good white steatite. Soft glazed paste was used for some seals. A cylindrical seal

[18] *ABIA*, VII, pp. 1-2; also, *Arch. and Sum. Prob.*, pp. 23-26.
[19] *Mod. Rev.*, Dec. 1924, p. 674. [20] *AP*, 1930, p. 13.
[21] Cf. *Arch. and Sum. Prob.*, p. 25n 2.
[22] Dr. HUNTER has dealt with the inscriptions on these seals in his excellent monograph, *The Script of Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro*, London, 1934.
[23] *JRAS*, 1932, p. 467.

(No. 376, *Fur. Exc.*) was made of calcite, commonly used for cylindrical seals in Mesopotamia. Two were made of a vitreous paste, a material rarely used in making seals. Only two were made of silver. No. 479 (*Fur. Exc.*) was made of a creamy white marble, hitherto not found at Mohenjo-Daro. It is probably an importation, as both the device on the seal and its material are unusual. Seal No. 658 (*Fur. Exc.*) is of limestone, and No. 653 (*Fur. Exc.*) of some white composition looking like finely powdered steatite, with the figures and the inscription moulded, not cut.

Dr. MACKAY has classified the seals under ten heads, and the same classification has been followed in the further excavations. Of these, (*a*) the cylinder seals, (*e*) button-seals, (*g*) cube seals, and (*j*) round seals with no boss and inscribed on both sides, do not appear to be seals, as most of them are to be read as written and hence are themselves sealed.[24] The so-called cylinder seals are, in addition, very lightly incised. The button seals have a boss different from that on the seals, and Dr. HUNTER regards them as amulets ;[25] Dr. MACKAY suggests a religious use for them, similar to pintaderas.[26] The cube seals, of which only five specimens are available, are made of sandy yellow paste, a material different from that used for other seals ; and further, they are not perforated, and are to be read as inscribed ; hence they were probably votive objects.[27] Round seals include only one specimen which is to be read as written, and hence is not a seal. By far the most popular type seems to be (*b*) square seals with perforate boss on the reverse, made of steatite, with about 900 perfect specimens. The favourite size is 1·1″ sq., followed by 0·85″ sq., and 1·2″ sq., the largest size being 2·7″ sq., and the smallest 0·5″ sq. (*f*) Rectangular seals with perforated convex back were also made of steatite and 145 examples are recorded. Three pottery seals in this type are of particular interest, since pottery seals of any type are comparatively rare at Mohenjo-Daro. These seals bear only inscriptions ; no pictographs ever appear on the sides or backs of these seals. On many of the so-called (*e*) button seals, for which a religious use is indicated, appears the *svastika* design. This symbol was found in use in many places of the ancient world, e.g., Crete, Capadocia, Troy, Susa, Musyan ; but it was not known in Babylonia nor in Egypt. The arms of the *svastika* turn in either direction, though the clockwise direction is less common. The direction of the arms to the right is held auspicious ;[28] while some style such *svastikas* as female stating them to be unlucky.[29] Seal 516 (*MIC*) with a number of squares, one set inside the other, is the only one of its kind at Mohenjo-Daro ; it is known at Susa and dated to the proto-Elamite period.[30] The *swastika* design is also found on some of the (*c*) square seals with no boss and frequently inscribed on both sides, of which 24 specimens, mostly

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[24] Cf. HUNTER, *JRAS*, 1932, pp. 467-70.
[25] *JRAS*, 1932, p. 468.
[26] *MIC*, p. 373 also n 1.
[27] See Dr. HUNTER, *JRAS*, 1932, p. 468.
[28] *MIC*, p. 374.
[29] *Ill. Wkly of India*, July 1, 1934.
[30] *Mem. Arch. Sur. Ind.*, 37, Pl. XV.

of steatite (2 pottery) are recorded. (*d*) The regular seals with no boss is a rare type, its peculiarity being that the seals bear plain inscriptions without the animal devices. (*h*) Round seals with perforated boss (of which one more is since found, making the total 4) made of steatite, are specially important as they are similar to the Indus seals found in Mesopotamia. It is particularly interesting to note that India records only 4 seals out of over 1200 dug up at Mohenjo-Daro alone, while in Mesopotamia their number is 3 out of the total of 7. The square Indus seals found in Mesopotamia are in the Indus language, whereas the circular ones though in the same script are in a different language. So, possibly, the latter were manufactured in Mesopotamia for a Sumerian speaking person of Indus descent, or "they may be earlier than Mohenjo-Daro and figure the language of an earlier people."[31] Only three cylinder seals have been found so far at Mohenjo-Daro: one, of soft, glazed white paste, having a *svastika* on one end; the other of calcite, possibly representing a scorpion; and the third one, of light yellow steatite, depicting two goats. These seals are not importations, since they agree only in shape with those of early Sumer and Elam; the devices are quite unlike the western prototypes. Though cylinder seals were known to Mohenjo-Darians, they never used them because press seals were in favour in the Indus Valley. In Sumer, press seals were in vogue before cylinder seals, whereas cylinder seals came first in Egypt.

Some of the seals exhibit unusual features, notable among those from Sir John MARSHALL's volumes being the following: inscribed boss (seal 18); no representation of animal (seals 389, 395); triple row of pictographs with the animal figure omitted (seals 396, 400). Dr. MACKAY records the following, among others, as seals of unusual type: animal facing the right (No. 135 *Fur. Exc.*); No. 488 (*Fur. Exc.*) made of marble-like stone, with its Sumerian look seems to have been imported perhaps from Elam; No. 321 has no animal.

Of the 18 seals of the Indus type found in Sumer published by Dr. GADD,[32] 12 round seals appear to be of Indus Valley origin. On 5, the bull is surmounted by a row of Indus Valley characters, and on one of them a bull is mating with a cow, of which no representation has yet occurred on seals or sealings at Mohenjo-Daro or Harappa. As the bosses of some of these round seals are curiously decorated with lines and circles with dots, Dr. GADD correctly ventures the suggestion that these seals were not imported from Mohenjo-Daro or Harappa, but from another Indus Valley site. Slight variations distinguished objects of the same type from different sites of the Indus Valley.

CASE SEALS: No. 95 (*Fur. Exc.*) has been hollowed to serve as a receptacle, perhaps for an amulet. The inside space, measuring 0·7" long by 0·11"

[31] HUNTER, *JRAS*, 1932, p. 469.

[32] *Proc. Br. Ac.*, Vol. XVIII, London, 1932; "Seals of Ancient Indian Style found at Ur."

wide by 0·63″ deep, was made by drilling five holes closely set in a line, and then breaking down the material between them. Grooved slots along and inside the upper edges of the interior show that it once had a cover. No. 260 (*Fur. Exc.*) is a similar seal, in manufacturing which a drill was used first and then a chisel.

(*To be continued.*)

THE PĀṆINIAN SCHOOL AND THE PRĀTIŚĀKHYAS : POST-PĀṆINIAN RECIPROCITY OF INFLUENCE*

By

K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA, M. O L.

Other instances of the Prātiśākhya influence on Kātyāyana.

The place of the Ayogavāhas :

THE three voiceless[31] spirants viz. Visarjanīya, Jihvāmūliya and Upadhmānīya and Anusvāra, Anunāsika and Yama are called Ayogavāhas.[32] Pāṇini does not read them in his Akṣarasamāmnāya. He is a more practical grammarian than any one of his successors and is probably justified in his omission. The Ayogavāhas as sounds do not stand on their own feet ; as WHITNEY[33] says, their utterance lays on the mouth-organs no compulsion of a definite shaping action ; they depend for their existence on a contiguous sound. Pāṇini, in preparing a homogeneous alphabet of concrete independent sounds perhaps thinks that the unity of his Akṣarasamāmnāya would be disturbed if the Ayogavāhas are brought in.[34] As regards the Jihvāmūlīya and Upadhmānīya it may be noted that in 8.3.37 (कुप्वोः ँ क ँ पौ च) Pāṇini departing from his usual practice, represents these sounds phonetically (in conjunction with the respective contiguous sounds) without naming them. He seems to have understood them as qualities rather than as sounds proper.

Kātyāyana with whom the Prātiśākhya bias prevails, desires them to be read both among 'Aṇs' and 'Śars' for some purposes pointed out by him.

अयोगवाहानामट्सु णत्वम् ॥

शर्षु जश्भावषत्वे ॥

[35]अविशेषेण सैयोगोपधासंज्ञालोऽन्त्यद्विर्वचनस्थानिवद्भावप्रतिषेधाः (Aks. Sam. 5, V. 5-7)

Patañjali[36] questions the necessity of Kātyāyana's effort and characterizes most of his purposes as securable otherwise than through the reading of the Ayogavāhas in these places.

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* Continued from *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, Vol. II, pt. II, p. 238.

31 See MACDONELL, Vedic Gr., p. 13, and WHITNEY Sans. Gr., p. 23.

32 For the etymology of this word see Patañjali and Kaiyaṭa on हयवरट् । एवं चाक्षरसमाम्नायेऽयुक्ताः सन्तो वहन्ति प्रयोगं निर्वाहयन्तीत्ययोगवाहपदव्युत्पत्तिर्दर्शिता । N. S. ed. Vol. I, p. 114.

33 Sans. Gr., p. 23.

34 WHITNEY thinks that "many of them are comparatively recent members of the Alphabetic system." *Ibid*, p. 23.

35 For a correct interpretation of the third Vārtika see Udyota and Chāyā N. S. ed. Vol. I, p. 16.

36 Vide Patañjali's comment on these ; also Chāyā p. 117.

We are here reminded of the various Prātiśākhyas[37] which read the Ayogavāhas by the side of the latter, i.e.

śar (*ś*, *ṣ* and *s*).

That Pāṇini was not at all carried away by what I should choose to call Śākhaic peculiarities, is clear from his not mentioning 'Yama' anywhere in the Aṣṭādhyāyī. The introduction of this into the Pāṇinian grammar serves no purpose whatsoever, unless to exhibit the Prātiśākhya mentality were a purpose. Though the value of the other Ayogavāhas is unquestionable in the Pāṇinian grammar, the real question is whether they are to be read in the Samāmnāya or not. It is but just to Kātyāyana and others of his school to point out that they had their own reasons for being the debtors of the Prātiśākhyas to which we will return at the end of this paper.

The doubling of the Upadhmānīya and the Jihvāmūlīya stated by Kātyāyana as one of the purposes for which they are read, has really no practical value in the scientific grammar of Pāṇini. The instances are उर ् ् क्: and उर ् ् प्:. The Prātiśākhyas[38] deal with such things *ad nauseam*. It is this instinct that accounts for the doubling of the Jihvāmūlīya and the Upadhmānīya better than anything else. Elsewhere[39] Kātyāyana says that the 'Śars' are doubled when followed by 'Khays' or *vice versa*.

शरः खयः

E.g.,[40] स्थाली, वत्स्सः, अप्स्सरा ॥

That the doubling of consonants in cases like this makes no significant difference in pronunciation, has been made plain by Patañjali who says :

न व्यञ्जनपरस्यैकस्य वानेकस्य वा श्रवणं प्रति विशेषोऽस्ति ॥

Nāgeśa in whom Pāṇini and Patañjali find their ablest exponent observes :

विसर्गजिह्वामूलीयादेर्द्विरुच्चारणे विशेषस्याप्रहादुच्चारणस्य कर्तुमशक्यत्वाच्च शास्त्रप्राप्तिमात्रेणैतत्प्रयोजनकथनमिति संतोष्टव्यम् ॥

Commenting[41] upon Bhoja's Sarasvatī-Kaṇṭhābharaṇa, Nārāyaṇadaṇḍanātha also says :

विसर्जनीयजिह्वामूलीयोपध्मानीयनासिक्यानुस्वारयमास्तु पृथगुपदेशप्रयोजनाभावान्नोपदिश्यन्ते ।

It is noteworthy here that the Jihvāmūlīya, the Upadhmānīya and the Ānunāsikya are not current among the Mādhyandinas.[42]

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[37] Cf. R. P. p. 25 ; T. P. 19 ; V. P. 8.8 sq., etc.

[38] See R. P. Paṭala 6 and V. P. Adhyāya 4, etc. [39] 8.4.47.

[40] Cf. R. P. 6.6. The commentator Uvvaṭa actually quotes this Vārtika for comparison.

[41] See Trivandrum Sans. Series No. CXVII, p. 5.

[42] See V. P. 8.29.

Kātyāyana sometimes splits vowels into their component parts which have no practical value in Pāṇini's grammar. The genesis of this tendency to split hairs lies in his Prātiśākhya training. It has already been pointed out that while Pāṇini adopts Mātrā as the unit in measuring the quantity of vowels, the Prātiśākhyas climb down to Ardhamātrā, Aṇu, etc. The Bhāṣyakāra[43] makes Pāṇini's position quite clear when he says :

इह व्याकरणे यः सर्वाल्पीयान्स्वरव्यवहारः स मात्रया भवति । नार्धमात्रया व्यवहारोऽस्ति ॥

Similarly, Pāṇini has no vowel measuring beyond 3 Mātrās. But Patañjali and other later commentators on whom the influence of the ritualistic science seems to have prevailed, accept Pluta measuring 4 Mātrās. On P. 8.2. 106 Patañjali says : इष्यत एव चतुर्मात्रः प्लुतः ।

Pāṇini[44] deals with a sound in its integral entirety, in treating a sound he works within the framework of what its form was during his time; he does not split it unnecessarily into parts. In the following Vārtika Kātyāyana speaks of vowels which are parts and which do not exist independently of the whole formed by them.

[45] वर्णैकदेशा वर्णग्रहणेन चेत्सन्ध्यक्षरे समानाक्षरविधिप्रतिषेधः ।

Patañjali's introduction to this is : इह हि समुदाया अप्युपदिश्यन्ते अवयवा अपि । अभ्यन्तरश्च समुदायेऽवयवः । तद्यथा—वृक्षः प्रचलन्सहावयवैः प्रचलति ।

[46]Kaiyaṭa's explanation :

इह हि समुदाया अपीति । ऋ ऌ ए ओ ऐ औं इति ।
अवयवा अपीति । अ इ उ ण् रट् लणिति ।

The question whether the parts dependent on the whole (component vowels) can also be treated apart from the whole, which the Vārtikakāra asks, is opposed to the spirit of Pāṇini.

The Ardha-ekāra and Ardha-okāra referred to by Kātyāyana, are rejected by Patañjali saying that they are used only by the Sātyamugri-rāṇāyanīyas.

Kātyāyana[47] अतपर एव इग्ग्रस्वादेशे ।

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[43] See Patañjali on 8.1.9.

Cf. Śāṅkhāyanaśrautasūtra 1.2.3 ; Āśv. Śr. Sūtra 1.2.10 and 14 with Nārāyaṇa's commentary. (चतुर्मात्रा याज्ञिकी प्लुतिः) The Śābdika-Cintāmaṇi also says ; न च चतुर्मात्रः प्लुतोऽप्रसिद्ध इति वाच्यम् । छान्दोग्ये तत्प्रसिद्धेः ।

Adayar Library Ms. 8. K. 3. Vol. I, p. 129. It has to be said to the credit of the Vārtikakāra that he mentions it only as something to be avoided. See V. 5 on Aks. Sam. 3-4 and V. 2 on Pāṇini 8.2.106.

[44] MACDONELL in his Vedic Grammar says that *e* and *o* are really simple long vowels, being diphthongs only in origin. See p. 5, footnote.

[45] Akṣ. sam. 3-4, V. 6. See also the following Vārtikas and the Mahābhāṣya on them.

[46] Vol. 1, p. 102. Vide the Śābdika-Cintāmaṇi, Vol. I, p. 145, Adayar Library Ms., 8.K.3. Kātyāyana's attitude is made very clear here.

[47] Aks. Sam. 3-4, V. 4.

Patañjali : न तौ स्तः । यदि हि तौ स्यातां तावेवायमुपदिशेत् । ननु च भोश्छन्दोगानां सात्यमुग्रिराणायनीया अर्धमेकारमर्धमोकारं चाधीयते । सुजाते ए अश्वसूनृते । अध्वर्यो ओ अद्रिभिः सुतम् । शुक्रं ते ए अन्यद्यजतं ते ए अन्यदिति । पार्षदकृतिरेषा तत्र भवताम् । नैव हि लोके नान्यस्मिन्वेदेऽर्धएकारोऽर्ध ओकारो वास्ति ॥

In discarding the Sūtra एच इग्घ्रस्वादेशे Kātyāyana says सिद्धमेङः[49] सस्थानत्वात् ऐचोश्चोत्तरभूयस्त्वात् । In the first Vārtika he points out the identity in the respective Sthānas of 'i' and 'e' and 'u' and 'o'. From the Pāṇinīyaśikṣā the Siddhāntakaumudī and other similar works we know that according to Pāṇini 'e' is both palatal and guttural and 'o' both dental and labial. From where does Kātyāyana get the idea that 'e' is purely palatal and 'o' labial? The Śābdikacintāmaṇi contains the answer :—

अथ वा[50] एकारः शुद्धतालव्य ओकारस्तु शुद्धौष्ठ्य इति मतमादाय तयोः स्थाने इवर्णोवर्णह्रस्वावेव भविष्यत इति सिद्धमित्यर्थः । तथा च बह्वृचप्रातिशाख्यम्—तालव्यावेकार ... ... ॥

Criticising P. 1.1.70. Kātyāyana[51] refers to the three Vṛttis (Drutā, Madhyamā and Vilambitā) and says that if the vowel to which त् is attached is pronounced in the Drutavṛtti, it cannot indicate those pronounced in the other two and that the Sūtra under discussion would in that case fall in need of a supplement.

द्रुतायां तपरकरणे मध्यमविलम्बितयोरुपसंख्यानं कालभेदात् ॥

It is in the Prātiśākhyas[52] and the Śikṣās that we come across these Vṛttis. Pāṇini had no necessity to deal with them.

The Prātiśākhyas[53] name the different sounds or their symbols by adding 'Kāra' to the sound of the letter if a vowel or to the letter followed by 'a' if a consonant, e.g., Akāra, Kakāra, etc.

The sole exception is 'र' which is called only '*ra*' or '*repha*' (र+इफ्). These suffixes are frequently used in the post-Pāṇinian grammatical literature. Kātyāyana introduces them in his Vārtikas[54] वर्णोत्कारः and रादिफः। GOLDSTÜCKER[55] thinks that Pāṇini never uses 'Kāra' because his terms are such as apply to a written book. I, on the other hand, am inclined to believe that originally it was added only to such onomatopoetic and exclamatory sounds as हिंकार (हिं करोति), वषट्कार, etc., which occur frequently in the Brāhmaṇa[56] literature. An instance is provided by P. 1.2.35. (उच्चैस्तरां वा वषट्कारः) itself. Pāṇini, with his never-failing eye on the scientific nature of his terminology does not make any indiscriminate use of this suffix.

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48 P.1.1.48.
49 P.1.1.48 V. 3 and 4.
50 Adayar Library Ms. Vol. I. p. 124.
51 V. 4 ; See also P.1.1.69. V. 11.
52 See R. P. 13-19 ; 2.24 ; Ṛktantra 2.4, Nārada Śikṣā 6.22, Yājñavalkya Śikṣā 54, etc.
53 V. P. 1. 37-39 and R. P. p. 47.
54 P. 3.3.108, V. 3-4.
55 Pāṇini p. 39.
56 See Kauṣ. Br. 3.5. etc.

Kātyāyana seems also to be indebted to the Ṛktantra. Dr. SURYAKANTA in his Introduction[57] to this work notices similarity between certain Sūtras of this and Kātyāyana Vārtikas. He points out also that in a few cases the latter makes some improvement upon the former.

To add to all this we have the evidence of the following Vārtikas in which this influence of the Prātiśākhyas is quite manifest.

उकारं दुर्दे (दूडभः)
नाशे च (दूणाशः)
पुरो दाशे (पुरोडाशः)
(V. P. 3, 42-44)
(See also R. P 5. 53)

Cf. Kātyāyana
दुरो दाशनाशदभ्येषु
(P. 6. 3. 109, V. 5)

On 'दूणाश' Uvvaṭa remarks मृग्यमुदाहरणम् ।

षड्दशदन्तयोः सङ्ख्यावयोऽर्धयोश्च (V. P. 3.47)
Uvvaṭa : न हि संहितायामुदाहरणमस्ति ।

Cf. Kātyāyana : षष उत्वं दतृदशसूत्तरपदादेः ष्टुत्वं च । षोडन्, षोडश (P. 6. 3.109. V. 4)

ता आघादनाडम्बरात्
दार्वाघाटः
(V. P. 3.48).

Cf. Kātyāyana.
दारावाहनोऽणन्त्यस्य च टः
संज्ञायाम् (P. 3. 2.49. V. 1).

तद्बृहतौ करपत्योस्तलोपश्च
e.g. तस्करः बृहस्पतिः
(V. P. 3. 52.)

Cf. Kātyāyana
तद्बृहतोः करपत्योश्चोरदेवतयोः
सुट्तलोपश्च (P. 6. 1.157)[58]

अलोपो मांस्पचन्याः
(V. P. 4. 41 ; see also R. P. 481

Cf. Kātyāyana
पदादिषु मांस्पृत्स्नूनामुपसंख्यानम्
(P. 6. 1.63 V. 1)

Patañjali : पदादिषु मांस्पृत्स्नूनामुपसंख्यानम् । यन्मीक्षणं मांस्पचन्याः ॥

ख्यातेः खयौ कशौ गार्ग्यः
सक्ख्यौक्ख्यमुक्ख्यवर्जम्
(V. P. 4. 165 ; see also R. P. 7.55

Cf. Kātyāyana
चक्षिङः क्शाञ्ख्याञौ
(P. 2. 4. 54. V. 1)

क्शापत्तिस्तु चरकाणां शाखिनां न तु माध्यन्दिनीयशाखिनां भवतीति दिक् ।
(V. P., p. 306, foot-note, Benares ed.).

Together with these instances the numerous terms used by the Prātiśākhyas and introduced by Kātyāyana into his Vārtikas and also the great number of Vedic words which he accounts for, prove that he came to comment upon Pāṇini only after he had exhausted the whole of the Vedic literature

[57] P. 41. It is generally contended that this work is a Prātiśākhya of the Sāmaveda.

[58] This is not a Gaṇasūtra but a Kātyāyanavārtika.

accessible to him and had digested[59] all the Prātiśākhyas dealing with them. This extensive knowledge has left an indelible stamp on some of his Vārtikas. He flourished in the golden age of the Prātiśākhyas. The study of the Vedas and the Prātiśākhyas had gained so much popularity in his time that he is led to reject the following Sūtras as explaining terms too widely known to the Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya.

Pāṇini : परः सन्निकर्षः संहिता / विरामोऽवसानम् — 1.4.109 and 110.

Kātyāyana : संहितावसानयोर्लोकविदित-त्वात्सिद्धम् । (P. 1.4.110. V. 8.)

That he is occasionally swayed by the Prātiśākhyas and the sporadic Vedic words is certainly not a weakness in him because behind all this submission to their influences there existed a genuine desire to impart the maximum amount of elasticity and comprehensiveness to the Aṣṭādhyāyī which was gaining greater and greater importance and had or was tending to become the perfect Vedāṅga ; no Vedic word could therefore be left out of its purview.

Among the Vedic words explained by Kātyāyana, a few which are not found in the extant Vedic literature might have existed in the various recensions which have not come down to us ; but the rest, a large number, the use whereof is traceable, offer a problem difficult to solve. Why did Pāṇini leave these out ? We cannot easily impute oversight to him. His study of the world of linguistic facts has been so thoroughly exhaustive and meticulously minute that no linguistic phenomenon worth notice could have escaped his eagle-eye. Not this way lies the explanation. In fact it shall never be offered until and unless this thread of comparative research is caught up and developed further. No claims are here laid to anything like finality of view. The above discussion of the influence of the Prātiśākhyas on Kātyāyana is open to revision, should the parallelisms on which the discussion is based be explained more convincingly by other minds. 'The object anyway of the present writer will have been attained if this line of research will lead us any the nearer to a completer understanding of the history of the many phonetic changes embodied in the various Vedic recensions as well as the dates of the Prātiśākhyas.

It is held by GOLDSTÜCKER and others that Kātyāyana (the Vārtikakara) is also the author of the Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya. But a closer consideration of the facts as they stand might show that the identity of the Vārtikakāra with the author of the Prātiśākhya is not probable. The author of the Vārtikas evinces more ingenuity and exhaustiveness than the author of the

[59] In this connection it may be noted that one Vararuci is known as the commentator of the T. P.

Cf. व्याख्यानं प्रातिशाख्यस्य वीक्ष्य वाररूचादिकम् ।

Tribhāṣyaratna, p. 1. (Mys. O. S.) But the evidence before us is not at all sufficient to identify him with the Vārtikakāra.

Prātiśākhya. He shows not only that he is steeped in the Prātiśākhya lore but also that he has had a thorough training in the scientific methods which are of Pāṇini's making. The difference between the Vārtikas and the Prātiśākhya is the difference between the latter and Aṣṭādhyāyī Sūtras. A comparison of the few Prātiśākhya aphorisms quoted above with the corresponding Vārtikas will bear this out. In the first instance the three Prātiśākhya Sūtras are summarised by Kātyāyana in one Vārtika in a scientific way ; in the second he has substituted (दन्त by दतृ) and has added in Pāṇinian terms उत्तरपदादेः त्वं च in the third he replaces आघातात् by आहनः (the root-form) and adds also अन्त्यस्य च टः संज्ञायाम्; in the fourth there is चोरदेवतयोः सुट् additional in the Vārtika than in the Prātiśākhya. In the fifth the difference in ideology is remarkable. The Prātiśākhya thinks that मांस्पचन्याः is an instance of अलोप, i.e., 'a' of मांस is elided when followed by पचन्याः। According to the Vārtikakāra मांस् is an independent word and is not a mutilated form of मांस, i.e., the whole word मांस् is the substitute of मांस। This position is made clear by him in the next Vārtika in which he says that नस is substituted by नस् instead of saying that 'a' of the former is elided in certain cases.

नस्नासिकाया यत्तस्क्षुद्रेषु।

In the last the Vārtika gives the Pāṇinian root चक्षिङ् instead of ख्याति which is found in the Prātiśākhya.

Many more instances might be adduced ; but these are sufficient for our purpose.

The Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya, on the other hand, does not record any improvement on Pāṇini in any respect. Though it is true that this Prātiśākhya has taken over some Sūtras bodily from Pāṇini, both its method and its material are reminiscent of the older Prātiśākhyas rather than of Pāṇini. A Vārtikakāra who knew his Pāṇini would have turned out a more scientific work than this. The occurrence of the above parallelisms in the Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya is no proof of Kātyāyana's authorship, since the occurrence far from being restricted to this extends to other Prātiśākhyas also. It may be pointed out, above all that has been considered hitherto, that there is an important difference in view between the Vārtikakāra and the author of the Prātiśākhya regarding the quantities of the component vowels of ऐ and औ। According to the former ऐ is ½ a + ½ e and औ is ½ a + 1½ o. The following Vārtika says that whenever ऐ and औ are substituted by other sounds, they are substituted by vowels homogeneous to their respective second ingredients which forms their major portions.

[60] ऐयोश्चोत्तरभूयस्त्वात् (P. 1.1.48, V. 4.)

[61]But the Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya divides the quantity equally between

[60] Prof. P. S. Subrahmanya SASTRI thinks that "the way in which Tamil 'ai' was and is pronounced may have influenced the pronunciation of Sanskrit 'ai' in the pre-Christian era." *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol. V, p. 285 (1931).

[61] See V.P. 1.73.

the parts. After commenting upon the V. P. 1. 73, Uvvaṭa draws attention to the view held by our grammarian (Vārtikakāra) :

अत्र केचिदाहुः—अकारस्यार्धमात्रा एकारस्या-
ध्यर्धा ऐकारे; अकारस्यार्धमात्रा ओकारस्याध्यर्धा
औकारे इति। तथा चोक्तम्—
अर्धमात्रा तु कण्ठ्यस्य ऐकारौकारयोर्भवेत्।

The conclusion therefore is that Kātyāyana was not the author of the Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya.

Patañjali's position.

Patañjali agrees with Kātyāyana in most of these cases because his object too was to enlarge the scope of the Aṣṭādhyāyī wherever necessary. It also deserves mention here that he shows some predilection for the Atharvaveda and its Prātiśākhya.

Among the beginnings of the four Vedas quoted by him at the outset of his work that of the Atharvan, namely शन्नो देवीरभिष्टये finds the first place. It is unreasonable to contend that this has been mentioned first on account of its beginning with the auspicious word शम् because his preference for the Atharvan is seen in the following instance also, in which he could have as well quoted the beginning of any one of the other three Vedas or at least that of the Ṛk which deservedly commands precedence in all matters.

[62] ओमित्युक्त्वा वृत्तान्तशः शमित्येवमादीञ्शब्दान् पठन्ति।

In giving the Prayatnas of the various sounds under P.1.1.10 Patañjali quotes the following from the Atharva Prātiśākhya :

स्पृष्टं करणं स्पर्शानाम्।
ईषत्स्पृष्टमन्तस्थानाम्।
विवृतमूष्मणां स्वाराणां च॥

The Kārikā

सदृशं त्रिषु लिङ्गेषु सर्वासु च विभक्तिषु।
वचनेषु च सर्वेषु यन्न व्येति तदव्ययम्॥

which he quotes on P. 1.1.38 to explain the term Avyaya, is taken by him from the [63]Gopatha Brāhmaṇa which belongs to this Veda. All this is not accidental in the work of a grammarian of Patañjali's calibre. It is therefore reasonable to assume that he had some connection with the Atharvaveda.

No doubt, most of the Prātiśākhyaisms introduced by Kātyāyana receive Patañjali's tacit approval and the latter thus in a way shares the Prātiśākhya influence with the former ; yet it must be noted that he and the Vārtikakāra differ on more points than they agree. Even in the matter of their liability to be influenced by the Prātiśākhyas Patañjali's liability is infinitesimal and

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[62] See Paspaśā, Vol. I. p. 5. [63] 1.26.

deducible only from one or two quotations. While he was eager to admit all that had gained sufficiently extensive currency, he was equally eager to check further tendencies to breach grammatical rules. He repeatedly says that grammarians should not follow others who differ from them, but others should follow the grammarians in the use of correct words. He insists that Padakāras should follow grammarians and never *vice versa*.

[64]यथेवमवग्रहः प्राप्नोति । न लक्षणेन पदकारा अनुवर्त्याः ।
पदकारैर्नाम लक्षणमनुवर्त्यम् । यथालक्षणं पदं कर्तव्यम् ।

Patañjali thus not only confers on the Pāṇinian grammar a fixity and an independence of its own but gives it also the added importance of a Vedāṅga which should command obedience from the Padakāras and save the Padapāṭha from further textual vicissitudes.

Later Commentators.

The Prātiśākhya influence did not exhaust itself with Kātyāyana. Even so late a commentator as Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita shows his leaning towards the Prātiśākhyas when he says :

[65]अतन्त्रमिति । इह त्वविवक्षायां प्रमाणं किमिति
चेल्लक्ष्यदर्शनं प्रातिशाख्यादिकं चेति गृहाण । तथा हि
ये ऽरा इत्यत्रैकारः, 'तनूनपात्' 'शचीपतिम्' इत्यत्र
पदपाठे ऊदीतौ चार्धोदात्तौ इति सकलबह्वृचप्रसिद्धम् ।

तनूनपाच्छचीपतिशब्दयोः 'उभे वनस्पत्यादिषु युगपत्' इति पूर्वोत्तरपदयोराद्युदात्तत्वे कृते अनुदात्तं पदमेकवर्जम् (P. 6. 1. 158) इति शेषनिघातः । पूर्वपदभूतयोस्तनूशची एतयोरन्त्यस्य पाक्षिकं स्वरितत्वं प्रातिशाख्ये उक्तम् ।

जात्यवद्वा तथा वान्तौ तनूशचीति पूर्वयोः ॥ इति ॥

तथा स्वरितार्धस्योदात्तत्वे प्रातिशाख्यमपि ।

एकाक्षरसमावेशे पूर्वयोः स्वरितः स्वरः ।
तस्योदात्ततरोदात्तादर्धमात्रार्धमेव वा ॥
अनुदात्तः परः शेष स उदात्तश्रुतिर्न चेत् ।
उदात्तं वोच्यते किञ्चित्स्वरितं वाक्षरं परम् ॥
इति ॥
(द्विर्वचनेऽपि) नटभार्यावद्वयञ्जनानि भवन्ति ।

[66]अनुस्वारोत्तमा अनुनासिकाः (T. P. 2.30.)

यमानुस्वारनासिक्यानां नासिका अनुनासिकाश्चोत्तमाः (V. P. 1.74.)

[67]अत एव प्रातिशाख्येऽपि आ त्वा रथम् इति मन्त्रे तकारस्य द्वित्वविकल्प उदाहृतः ॥

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[64] P. 3.1.109 ; see also 6.1.207 and 8-2-16 ; Cf. also P. 1.4.3.

[65] *Prauḍhamanoramā* on P. 1.2.32. तस्यादित उदात्तमर्धहस्वम् । He follows the Ṛk Prātiśākhya in this instance. It may be remembered that he is a Ṛgvedin.

[66] Ibid, p. 35. [67] P. 75 (P. 8.4.47).

[68]प्रातिशाख्यरीत्येत्यवेहि । तथा हि अनुस्वारो व्यञ्जनं चाक्षराङ्गमित्युक्त्वा स्वरान्तरे व्यञ्जनान्युत्तरस्येति तत्र सूत्रितम् ... ... ।

न चैतावता क्वचिद्रूपेऽनिष्टमापद्यते येन प्रातिशाख्यपरिभाषामुपेक्ष्य नटभार्यावद्वयञ्जनानीति (Cf. Patañjali on 6.1.2). चाश्रित्य दद् जाग् इत्यादि द्विरुच्यते ॥

छन्दोवत्कवयः कुर्वन्ति । नत्वेषेऽरिस्ति (तस्यादित उदात्तमर्धह्रस्वम्)

The commentator Hari Dīkṣita does not agree with his grandfather in the interpretation of तस्यादित उदात्तमर्धह्रस्वम् (P. 1.2-32)

Says he :

[69]अविवक्षितमित्यर्थ इति। इदं च वक्ष्यमाणं प्रातिशाख्यं यच्छाखास्थं तच्छाखास्थवैदिकोदाहरणविषयम् । तनूनपाच्छचीपतिशब्दयोरिति । अस्य यद्यपीत्यादिः । शेषनिघात इति । अस्य तथापीति शेषः..... । तदुक्तं भाष्ये अर्धह्रस्वशब्दोऽर्धमात्रायां रूढ इति ।

हरिरप्याह—

प्रमाणमेव ह्रस्वादावनुपात्तं प्रतीयते । इति ।
अनुपात्तमपि अर्धमात्रारूपप्रमाणमेवोपलक्ष्यत इत्यर्थं तस्य हेलाराज आह ।
एवं च लोकेऽन्यशाखासु च दीर्घादिष्वपि अर्धमात्रैवोदात्तेति भावः ॥

A tradition current among the Paṇḍits has it that the Śabdaratna was written by Nāgeśa himself and presented to Haridīkṣita, his Guru, under whose name it has come down to us. This is confirmed by the striking similarity that exists between the thoughts embodied in this work and those in the Laghuśabdenduśekhara.

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[68] See the Śabdakaustubha on P. 1.1.59 (द्विर्वचनेऽचि), Chowkhamba ed. Vol. I, p. 315. It is interesting to note that in this case he has even set aside Patañjali's maxim नटभार्यावद्वयञ्जनानि भवन्ति (See Patañjali on 6.1.2)

[69] Śabdaratna, Part I, pp. 31 ff., Kāśi Sans. Series.

BRÁHMAN IN THE ṚGVEDA

By

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IN the history of the religious and philosophical thought of India *bráhman-* (neut.) has almost always occupied a uniquely central position. "*Bráhman* is the greatest word in the whole history of Indian Philosophy", says GRISWOLD, "for there is contained in it the religious development of India during thirty centuries."[1] It is therefore quite natural that from the very beginning of the study of the sacred texts of our land along the modern scientific lines in the last century various attempts have been made by many scholars[2] of repute to find out the etymology and original meaning of the word *bráhman* (and its derivative *brahmán-* masc.). No unanimity has, however, been reached as yet among scholars with reference either to the derivation or the original meaning of the term. I make no apology for launching upon a fresh inquiry into the problem at the present moment particularly because the whole question has been of late tackled *ab ovo* by such eminent Indologists as HERTEL, HILLEBRANDT, NEISSER, CHARPENTIER, DUMÉZIL and KEITH.

First of all I shall give a brief résumé of the previous attempts at determining the etymology and original meaning of the term *bráhman*; the results of my own investigations therein insofar as the term in the Ṛgveda is concerned will be given in the second part of this paper. The question of the evolution and extension of its meaning in the later Vedic texts and the process by which the evolution of the original conception culminated into the Highest Principle of the Universe have not been discussed in this study.

I. RESUMÉ OF PREVIOUS ATTEMPTS.

Almost the first attempt at finding out the original meaning of the term *bráhman-* was made by ROTH in 1846 in *ZDMG.* I, 66 *ff.* His conclusion which was later incorporated in *PW*,[3] is that the word signifies "the devotion which manifests itself as longing and fulfilment of the spirit, and reaches forth to the gods," or in general, "every pious utterance in the service of God".[4]

[1] *Brahman*, 1; *The Religion of the Ṛgveda*, p. 340.

[2] About fifty scholars have so far written on this fascinating topic.

[3] Vol. V, 135 ff.

[4] "Die als Drang und Fülle des Gemüts auftretende und den Göttern zustrebende Andacht," überh. "Jede Fromme Aeusserung beim Gottesdienst."—Previous even to ROTH, it may be noted, LASSEN in his *Anthol. Sanscrita* p. 231 (1838) gives the meaning of the word: 'Precatio, rerum divinarum cogitation.—Theologia, disciplina sacra et libri eam tradentes, Veda—Summum numen, divinitas.'

He derives the word *brahmán* from √2. *bṛh-* (*brah-*) "gross machen, kräftigen, stärken".[5]

This interpretation has been followed, with certain insignificant modifications, by a great many subsequent scholars, namely, GRASSMANN[6], FICK[7], BERGAIGNE[8], DELBRÜCK[9], DEUSSEN[10], LANMAN[11] and others.[12] It has also been suggested by some[13] that *bráhman-* should be taken to mean 'strengthening, *vardhana*', i.e. a strengthening of the god through the sacrifice and hymns of his human worshipper.

OLDENBERG in his earlier writings[14] opined that *bráhman-* would in reality signify a certain magical fluid, a mysterious power, a magic force, and that *brahmán-* mas. would be the one possessed with this magic force, comparable to a certain extent with the Mongolian priest 'Shaman' or with the medicine-man of the primitive tribes. STRAUSS,[15] HUBERT-MAUSS[16] and SÖDERBLOM[17] went even so far as to expressly treat the conception of *bráhman-* in the same manner as that of 'Mana"[18] of the Pacific region or of the 'orenda' of the Hurons. HILLEBRANDT seems to approve of this treatment in his *VM. kl. Aufl.* p. 61; and in his article on "Brahman" in *ERE.* II, 796 ff. In the former work he held that *bráhman* was "das magische Fluidum ritueller Zauberkraft."

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[5] BOPP doubted this derivation in *Sündfluth* p. XIX (1829), but his doubts were rejected by LASSEN in *Ind. Bibl.* III. 48 (1830), and POTT in *Et. Forsch.* I, 250; III, 944 ff.

[6] *WbR.* 916.

[7] Cf. Wb. (3) I, 380; (4) I. 263.

[8] *Rél. Véd.* II, 273 f., Cf. also BERGAIGNE et HENRY, *Manuel*, 268.

[9] *Vedachrestomathie*, 93.

[10] *System d. Vedānta* 51, 127 f.; *Geschichte d. Philosophie* I: I, 241: "aspirations and cravings after the Divine."

[11] *Sanskrit Reader* 202.

[12] See further the latter portion of the note 7 on page 4 of *Brahman* by CHARPENTIER.

[13] Cf., for instance, BERGAIGNE *Rél. Véd.* II, 273 f.; OLDENBERG *GN.* 1916, p. 734 (cf. also LUDWIG *Rigveda* VI, 180).

[14] Cf. *IF. Anz.* VIII, 40; *Vedaforsch.* pp. 86 f.; *Lehre der Upaniṣaden* pp. 44 ff., etc.

[15] *Bṛhaspati* p. 20, n. 4.

[16] *Théorie générale de la magie* 117.

[17] *Das Werden des Gottesglaubens* 270 ff.

[18] CODRINGTON defines *mana* thus: 'It is a power or influence, not physical and in a way supernatural; but it shews itself in physical force, or in any kind of power or excellence which a man possesses. This *mana* is not fixed in anything and can be conveyed in almost anything; but spirits, whether disembodied or supernatural beings, have it and can impart it; and it essentially belongs to personal beings to originate it, though it may act through the medium of water, or a stone, or a bone' (*The Melanesians*, Oxford, 1891, p. 119 n.). Or again, 'a force altogether distinct from physical power, which acts in all kinds of ways for good and evil, and which it is of the greatest advantage to possess or control.' (*ibid.* p. 118n.).

In *Ved. Stud.* II, pp. 143 ff. GELDNER explained *bráhman* as exactly the same as *mantra* or *sūkta*, signifying in particular "magic spell" ("Zauberspruch"), or "incantation"[19]; and later on in his *RV. in Auswahl* I,122 f. he stated that *bráhman* signified first of all "the inner strengthening and ecstatic feeling through Soma etc., of which the poets for their poetic illumination, and the deities for their benevolent deeds, stand in need: indeed, that mysterious power which inspires the poet into becoming a *Ṛṣi*, and which he transmits to the deities, on the whole all that which exercises an advantageous and alluring effect, a *magic* on the higher powers. It may be translated therefore, as inner strengthening, exhortation, exorcism, incantation, spell, magic formula, edification[20], etc..."

In his dissertation, *Brahman: a Study in the History of Indian Philosophy*,[21] GRISWOLD came to the conclusion that *bráhman* meant "sacred word" "hymn" whilst neither "holy rite" nor "fluid of holiness" would truly represent the original conception of the term. Later on, however, he seems to have modified his view-point for in his recent treatise, *The Religion of the Ṛgveda*, he states: "The meaning of *bráhman* halts between 'prayer' and 'spell', according as its aim is either to persuade the gods or to compel them. In the following passages *bráhman* is clearly used in the sense of 'spell': I, 82, 6; II, 2, 7; 17, 3; 24, 3; V, 40, 6; VI, 65, 5 etc."[22] Again, "*bráhman* (nom. neut. *bráhma*) occurs often in the ṚV. in the sense of 'sacred formula', 'prayer', 'spell'. It was the inherent potency of the sacred formula, due to a magical conception thereof, which led finally to the supreme conception of *bráhman* as identical with *ātman*, the 'soul' of the universe."[23]

Here it may be mentioned that shortly before his death OLDENBERG had re-examined his earlier standpoint regarding *bráhman* in a detailed article published in *GN.* 1916, pp. 715 ff. Rejecting his earlier opinion of *bráhman* as "magical fluid" he asserted that as far as the ṚV. was concerned *bráhman* meant nothing else but "sacred word" "hymn" "Vedic song" and that later on it evolved itself into the meaning of "the magic word" or "incantation." The real *bráhmāṇi* would accordingly be the Atharvan-hymns, which would agree with the fact that the AV. is called the *Brahmaveda*.

Among the attempts at tracing the etymology of the term *bráhman*, one of the most detailed and thorough was that by OSTHOFF.[24] The starting point of his investigation was the assumption that *bráhman* signified "magic spell." He then sought to establish an etymological connection between the Old Indo-Aryan *bráhman* and Old Irish *bricht* "magic, magic formula" (probably from the hypothetical **bhṛgh-tu-*) and Old Islandic *bragr-* "poetry,

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[19] PISCHEL seemed to agree with GELDNER, cf. *GGA.*, 1894, pp. 420 ff.

[20] "Erbauung." This is added by GELDNER in his "Nachträge" (*RV. in Aus.*, II, p. 233) to *Glossar*.

[21] New York, 1900.

[22] P. 172, n. 1.

[23] *Ibid.* p. 339.

[24] BB. XXIV, 113-144.

poesy, melody, metre", and *Brage* pr. n. of "the god of poesy." He would also compare herewith the Lat. *forma*. This etymology has the merit of having been accepted by some of the leading Vedic scholars, such as OLDENBERG,[25] WINTERNITZ,[26] CARNOY,[27] and, of late, K. CHATTOPADHYAYA.[28] WINTERNITZ calls it "the most probable", while CHATTOPADHYAYA considers it to be "quite safe." But we may not forget that although HILLEBRANDT had at first[29] accepted it, he rejected the same in his later writings, notably, in his essay on *Bráhman* published in *Festgabe Hermann Jacobi*,[30] and that it has been criticized by both HERTEL[31] and CHARPENTIER[32] though on different grounds. Without committing myself to the acceptance of this etymology I would however add that HERTEL'S objection to the same that it has been based on a false interpretation of the sense of *bráhman*, is itself based on his quite mistaken view of *bráhman* (as will be presently shown). This may also be applied to CHARPENTIER'S criticism though, admittedly, with a little less force. CHARPENTIER does agree that phonetically the comparison of *bráhman* with *bricht* and *bragr*—though not particularly happy—might well be defended, but what he finds fault with is the fact that notionally OSTHOFF was forced to use for *bráhman* and *bricht* the vague and colourless signification "Fassung, Abfassung" ("diction, composition") instead of the concrete "Zauber, Zauberspruch" ("magic, magic spell").

Another etymological connection, which enjoyed great popularity before OSTHOFF'S above-mentioned attempt, was the one between *bráhman-*, *brahmán-* on the one hand, and the lat. *flāmen* "priest of a particular, individual deity", on the other. This etymology was first proposed by L. MEYER[33] and accepted by a number of scholars, such as WACKERNAGEL, WILHELM, FROEHDE, v. BRADKE, KRETSCHMER, HIRT, VENDRYÈS, MEILLET and others.[34] According to CHARPENTIER this etymological connection cannot, however, be taken into serious consideration since the Lat. *flāmman* signifies "priest"—exactly perhaps "sacrificial priest"—which has definitely nothing to do with the Indian word...., since, moreover, the derivation of *flāmen* itself has not yet been satisfactorily determined : some derive it from **flāgmen-*, others from **flāgs-men*, or from **flag-mā*, or from **flād-men-* or **flād-s-men*, while he himself says that *flāmen* can very well be explained through **flāg-s-men-* in view of the OI. *bhrajas-*, *bhrājas-*, *bhrājiṣ-ṇu-*.[35]

I now come to the researches of Professor HERTEL[36] who through a series of essays and memoirs has tried to read a meaning in the Ṛgveda and the

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25 *Lehre d. Upanishaden*, pp. 44 ff.
26 *HIL.* p. 247, n 3.
27 *Le Indo-Européens*, p. 236.
28 Presidential Address, Vedic Section, Ninth All-India Oriental Conf. Trivandrum.
29 VM. (Kl. Ausg.), p. 61 ; ERE. II, pp. 796 ff.
30 P. 267, p. 2.
31 IF. xli, 205.
32 *Brahman*, p. 7.
33 Vgl. Gr. II, 275.
34 See CHARPENTIER *Brahman*, p. 8, n. 2.
35 *Brahman*, pp. 8 f.
36 *IF.* xli (1923), 185 ff.

Avesta which is radically different from any expounded by his predecessors or contemporaries. He asserts that the misinterpretation of the term *bráhman* is one of the many fatal errors of Vedic scholarship, shared alike by the Indian and the Western interpreters. In his earlier writings he sought to establish a theory that the essential work of Indian philosophers of the Upaniṣadic period was to depersonalize the old gods and to show that in the macrocosm and the microcosm alike there existed nothing except nature powers and processes, which required no explanation by the assumption of divinities. On this view the Brahman is that which fills all beings, stimulates the sense organs, penetrates the whole world, and encircles the universe Its true nature is revealed in those passages of the Upaniṣads which describe the Brahman as qualified, the unqualified Brahman being manifestly the product of further refinement of speculative thought. Now in certain passages[37] we find that the Brahman is the bodily warmth in men, which is identical with his self, Ātman, and also with the cosmic light or fire (*tejas* or *jyotis*). Thus, starting backward from the Upaniṣads, HERTEL asserts that the cosmic Brahman, is fire in no metaphorical sense; the *brahmaṇaḥ parimarah* of the Ait. Br.[38] really means that all comes from fire and is resolved into it again. HERTEL then connects *bráhman* and *bṛh-* (in Bṛhaspati-) with the Greek *phlegma*, a word the development of whose meaning is obscure, which, however, in the *Illiad* XXI, 337 appears to mean "flame", and is held to be connected with Latin *flamma*, *flagro* and *fulgeo*. In *Die Arische Feuerlehre* I HERTEL has also explained Ved. *yakṣá* Avestan *ciθra*; Ved. *dhénā* Av. *daenā*, and Ved. *vásu*, Av. *vohu-* as respectively "light", "fire", "resplendent." In short, HERTEL would have us believe that *bráhman* denotes primarily the cosmic fire which exists beyond the stone heaven and which is revealed by breaks in that barrier as the sun, moon, constellations and so on. This cosmic fire is present also in the microcosm, man, as the Ātman, and thus the oldest form of religion reached presents us implicitly with the identification of *Brahman* and *Ātman*, which forms the main theme of the Upaniṣads. This doctrine, according to HERTEL, is also Indo-Iranian, for the Avesta has the same doctrine of the cosmic fire. HERTEL does not claim that the sense "fire" is living in the Ṛgveda in its simplest meaning. *Bráhman* signifies, according to him, that fire which incorporates wisdom, hence appears in the cosmic Brahman as the thought-power, and as such has its seat in the heart which is indeed the seat of thought in the view of the Indo-Europeans. These and allied views have been developed at great length by HERTEL and in doing so, those with whom he disagrees are denounced by him as lacking in sufficient knowledge of things Indological, Iranistic, or linguistic. Indeed, HERTEL feels so sure of his theories about *Brahman* that in his very recent book, *Der Planet Venus im Avesta* (Leipzig 1936), he declares at the very outset that he actually *experi-*

[37] BAU. iv, 3, 1 ff.; 4, 1 ff.; CU. iii, 13, 8; Muṇḍ. III, 1, 5. Seed is the concentrated *tejas* in AU. ii, 1.

[38] viii. 28; cf. Kauṣ. ii, 12.

enced the *bráhman* during an afternoon walk in the open. The sun was sinking on the horizon which put on in a few minutes a glittering and glowing red colour so that the western sky appeared like a single immense blaze, in which the sun fully disappeared . . ! Verily, if *brahma-darśana* was so easy and cheap, the life-long efforts of some of our ancients to get even a glimpse of *bráhman* would seem to be misdirected !

HERTEL's theories have given rise to several studies which attempt to examine the problem of *bráhman* afresh. Most notable of them are those by HILLEBRANDT, CHARPENTIER and KEITH. That all these reject HERTEL's theories downright goes without saying. The late Professor JOHANSSON dismissed HERTEL's comparison of *brâhman* with *phlegma* as the fancy of a dilettante who was not master of the principles of linguistic science,[39] and KEITH is not surprised of JOHANSSON's such scant respect towards HERTEL's etymological assumptions. On the other hand, it must be noted that Wilhelm STREITBERG declared HERTEL's linguistic equation *bráhman* = *phlegma* as indisputable.[40]

HILLEBRANDT, in his article on "Brahman" in *Festgabe Hermann Jacobi* (pp. 265 ff) first draws our attention to HAUG's remarks on the same term. The latter scholar had opined in *Ait. Br.* I (p. 4), that *bráhman* was to be derived from the root √*bṛh-* and it originally meant "growth." He further said : "*Brahma* is the same word, in every respect as the *baresma* of the Zendavesta...this means a bunch of twigs tied together by a reed which is used up to the present day by the Parsi priests when performing the Homa ceremony. The Brahmans use at all their sacrifices a bunch of kuśa-grass which is also tied together. They call it Veda. ... Veda is a synonymous word for brahma. ..."[41] Following HAUG, HILLEBRANDT had at first in his *Vedachrestomathie* explained *bráhman* (1) as "growth, prosperity" with reference to the st. 8 of the frog-hymn VII, 103 ; (2) as the "mystic strength" contained in and produced through the sacrifice and its component parts, and (3) as "hymn, speech" insofar as this was a part of the sacrifice. Now in his re-examination of the problem HILLEBRANDT insists that the etymological connection between *bráhman* and *baresman* should never be lost sight of. WACKERNAGEL also connects *bráhman*, *brahmán* with *baresman* "sacrificial twigs", allowing *ra* for *ar*, in his *Altind. Gr.* I, §190 b (p. 213) ; § 215 a b (p. 247). We may therefore assume, says HILLEBRANDT, that *bráhman* originated from the √*bṛh.* (*vṛddhau*) and originally served as a symbolical plant-magic which helped the sacrificer to realize growth, prosperity, the fulfilment of his wishes. In short, HILLEBRANDT's conclusions are that *bráhman* is :

[39] *Indogerm. Gramm.*, i. 248.

[40] HERTEL, *Der Planet Venus im Awesta*, Intr. p. 5.

[41] See also *SKBAW.*, München 1868, p. 22 ; *Brahma und die Brahmanen*, München, 1871.

(1) twigs-bundle as a magic for growth and fertility, *várdhana*.

(2) magic, as the mystic strength pervading the whole sacrifice.

(3) all individual types of magic: spell, song, hymn. Each one is *várdhana* and in the ṚV. *bráhman* can function as this *várdhana*.

(4) creative strength, on the whole, which developed itself into the cosmogonic *brahman*.

According to HILLEBRANDT, then HAUG's view was essentially correct and that if any one, encouraged by OSTHOFF'S etymology, sought to translate *bráhman* as "word" "Vedic word", he was in the wrong. Moreover HILLEBRANDT differed from HERTEL who explained *bráhman* as "fire," which explanation could not find any corroboration in the Ṛgveda.

In order to make my *résumé* pretty complete I may also refer to NEISSER'S short note on *bráhman* published in *ZII*, Vol. V, pp. 286 f. Differing from HILLEBRANDT he states that though in some isolated ceremonies the Indian priests hold the bundle of twigs in their hands thereby resembling the use of *baresman* in the Avesta, the twigs are never called *bráhman* but *darbha*, at times *Veda*, which terms never mean "magic." HILLEBRANDT'S thesis that *bráhman* really means "bundle of twigs," then "prosperity-magic", cannot therefore be supported. According to NEISSER *bráhman* is "Spruchzauber" "speech-magic."

Jarl CHARPENTIER'S brilliant monograph, *Brahman: Eine sprachwissenschaftlich-exegetisch-religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung*,[42] deserves a close study. It is a pity that he could not finish his investigation into the problem of *Brahman* owing to his untimely death. CHARPENTIER takes up the gauntlet thrown by HERTEL and pays him in the same coin whilst denouncing his knowledge of linguistics and Vedic philology. Out of 138 pages of CHARPENTIER'S monograph, more than 60 are devoted to a trenchent criticism and thorough rejection of HERTEL'S theories. It is not possible to mention here all the arguments advanced by CHARPENTIER but his conclusions may be briefly summarized. According to him *bráhman* is identical with the Avestan *baresman* and originally it meant nothing more than the bundle of grass used by the priests in the ritual. He suggests (p. 62) that there was an Indo-Iranian *bharzh-man* and *bharzh-is* which are represented in Avestan by *baresman* and *barəziś*, while the Vedic gives us *bráhman* for * *barhman*, and *barhis*. Now CHARPENTIER and those of his views would have us suppose that at an early period priests in India and Iran performed magic rites with bundles of plants, etc., accompanying their performance with magic formulæ; these were the Brahman rites, and their performers were the Brahmans. As the ceremonial developed, the connection between the idea of *bráhman* and the grass, etc., relaxed and the term came to mean a

[42] Uppsala, 1932.

magic rite of any kind, which is the sense found primarily in the Ṛgveda. *Brâhman* may also mean "Zauberlied", which meaning is allowed owing to the conviction (pp. 83-5) that in the Ṛgveda all sacrifice is magic and all prayers are spells. CHARPENTIER also throws an interesting suggestion (p. 76, n. 5) that *brahmacārin* is to be explained as *brahmaṇā saha carati*, the reference being to the girdle of *muñja* grass, which is the characteristic sign of the initiated youth.

A still more radical theory propounded quite recently is that of M. DUMÉZIL.[43] He asserts that there existed—or must have existed—a root *bhelgh* whence one can derive *brahman, barhis, barha* "tail of a peacock," *upabarhaṇa* "mattress", in Latin *flamen* and in Gk. *pharmakós* applied to a scapegoat, *phármakon* "remedy." Under the influence of Sir J. FRAZER'S evidence in the *Golden Bough*, DUMÉZIL refers to the legend of Śunaḥśepa as suggesting a former practice of slaying the son of the king or a substitute to revive life in nature, and thence he evolves a novel theory that the Brāhmaṇas achieved their historical position, as originally the substitutes for the royal victim, treated for a time as royal, and thus made equivalent in value to the king for sacrificial purposes. But for the absurd, strange and revolutionary character of this theory I would not have referred to it since it does not at all help us in ascertaining the significance of the *bráhman* in the Ṛgveda.

All these new theories as to *bráhman* have been examined, and their conjectural insecurity exposed, by Professor KEITH in a recent contribution[44] to the *Jhā Commemoration Volume*. Against HERTEL, KEITH asserts that the comparison of *bráhman* with *phlegma* is far from cogent since, were it correct, it would have to be added to the list of those cases in which Indian *h* corresponds unexpectedly to Gk. *g*. Moreover, when the use of *bráhman* in the ṚV. and later is considered it is absolutely clear that "fire" cannot have been the root idea of the term. Hence the efforts of HERṬEL to illumine the early history of Vedic religion have got to be rejected. Regarding CHARPENTIER'S suggestion of an Indo-Iranian *bharzh-man* and *bharzh-is* whence Vedic *bráhman, barhis* and Avestan *barəsman*, KEITH remarks that there is nothing very cogent in this conjecture, that it is more likely that there is no connection between *brâhman* and *barhis*, and that the two go back to different roots. Again, there is no proof that the term *bráhman* originally denoted the "Opferstreu", which is a mere matter of conjecture. As to the term *brahmacārin*, KEITH states that it does not denote one who practises abstinence or celibacy, meanings which *bráhman* cannot have, but it means one who practises holiness, one who busies himself about the holy power, or who walks in the path of holiness. Against M. DUMÉZIL'S doc-

[43] *Flammen-Brahman*, Paris, 1935.

[44] "New Theories as to Brahman," *Jhā Commemoration Volume*, Poona (1937), pp. 199 ff.

trine, KEITH raises a question : What is the evidence for the death of a royal victim to revive the life of nature? The Śunaḥśepa legend says nothing of the kind. The effort to find a parallel development through which the Roman Flammen, originally a victim substituted for the king, became the *flamen sacrorum populi Romani* seems wholly unsuccessful. In short, all the new attempts of HERTEL, CHARPENTIER and DUMÉZIL fail, according to KEITH, to throw any fresh light on the difficult problem of the *brāhman* in the Ṛgveda. He concludes by stating that *brāhman* seems naturally to denote "prayer" and the mental attitude which induces prayer.

This brings me to the end of my *résumé* of the previous studies on the term *brāhman*. The *résumé*, I am afraid, is all too rapid and brief to do full justice to the great learning of the scholars I have mentioned. In point of etymology and exegesis truly has *brāhman* remained as elusive to the Vedists as, in point of signification and definition, it remains so to the Indian philosophers. Whilst going through the bewildering forest of the essays and monographs attempting to find out the original meaning of the term *brāhman*, well may a modern student exclaim, with the Upanishadic Ṛṣi, *neti, neti*.

And yet, in spite of the difficulties and perhaps the attendant disappointment, I venture to give below my own study of the term *brāhman in the Ṛgveda*. Not being sufficiently proficient in Gk. and Latin I leave it to others to trace the pre-Indo-Aryan etymology of the term. At the present stage of our knowledge it seems too hazardous to indulge in speculation on this vexed topic ; we have seen how European scholars, well-versed in Gk., Latin and Indo-Aryan Linguistics, contradict each other in the matter of the etymology of *brāhman*. As regards Av. *baresman*, I altogether reject its identity with the Vedic *brāhman* at any stage ; there is nothing in the whole of the Avesta to warrant the much-mooted identity. The starting point of my inquiry is therefore the text of the ṚV. itself, and throughout my study I am guided by the principle that in the cases of many a doubtful word Ṛgveda is its own commentary.

[To be continued.]

VEŚYĀ

SYNONYMS AND APHORISMS

By

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Abbreviations : Amar.—Amarakośa ; Amitagati—Amitagati's Subhāṣita-saṁdoha ; B.—Baudhāyana-Smṛti, Bhag. P.—Bhāgavata Purāṇa ; Bhar.—Bhartṛhari ; G.—Gautamīya-Dharmasūtra ; Hal.—Halāyudha's Abhidhāna-ratnamālā ; Hār.—Puruṣottamadeva's Hārāvalī ; Hem.—Hemacandra's Abhidhānacintāmaṇināmamālā ; Hem. An.—Hemacandra's Anekārthasaṁgraha ; Hem. Dhāt.—Hemacandra's Dhātupāṭha ; Hit.—Hitopadeśa ; I.S.—O. Boehtlingk's, Indische Sprueche ; K.—Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra ; Kām.—Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra ; Kath.—Kathāsaritsāgara ; MBh.—Mahābhārata ; Med.—Medinikośa ; Mn.—Mānava-Dharmaśāstra ; Mṛcch—Mṛcchakaṭika ; N. (Nar.)—Nārada-Smṛti ; Pañc.—Pañcatantra ; Raj. Tar.—Rājataraṅgiṇī ; Rv.—Ṛgveda ; Śabd.—Śabdakalpadruma ; Subh.—Amitagati's Subhāṣita-saṁdoha ; Subhāṣ.—Subhāṣitārṇava ; t.o.—textus ornatror ; Trik.—Puruṣottamadeva's Trikāṇḍaśeṣa ; t. s.—textus simplicior ; Vas.—Vasiṣṭha-Dharmasūtra ; Viṣ.—Viṣṇu-Smṛti ; Vṛdhacan.—Vṛddhacāṇakya ; Y.—Yājña-valkya-Dharmaśāstra.

As a jurist dealing with problems of Ancient Indian Law I began some years ago to prepare a dissertation about the legal position of prostitution in Ancient India.

I had studied many Sanskrit texts including the very scarce literature dealing with my subject, and had collected notes, part of which I succeeded in saving when I escaped from Poland after the outbreak of the war.

From my reading of the Sanskrit texts I came to conviction that beside the common designation of the word "prostitute" (*veśyā, gaṇikā* etc.) there are a large number of other expressions for the same designation. Moreover I found that Sanskrit literature is rich in aphorisms relating to venal love.

For a while I interrupted my juristic study proper and devoted my attention to these two aspects of the question.

It is well-known that Sanskrit is one of the richest languages in the world as far as nomenclature is concerned ; it is also well-known that Ancient Indian aphorisms are among the most famous in the world and that a good number of them have found their way in the literature of the world. But it is not so commonly known for instance that for the word *veśyā* we find as many as 235 synonyms in Sanskrit nomenclature and that in the literature there are almost 100 aphorisms referring to *veśyā*, each one of which more beautiful and more exact than the others.

I dare say there is no other language which contains more synonyms or possesses more beautiful aphorisms on this theme.

As to the synonyms of the word *veśyā* it must be pointed out that the original meaning of some expressions was principally other than " a prostitute " and in some cases completely different but in certain contexts use could be made of them in the sense of a prostitute as evident from the texts of some lexicographers. The first kind of such words I have marked with one asterisk (*) and the second with two asterisks (**).

It must also be pointed out that sometimes one and the same word appears in the texts differently or erroneously spelt, so that after rejecting these synonyms as well as the doubtful ones (marked with two asterisks) the total number of synonyms designing a *veśyā* will be a little reduced.

The synonyms of the word *veśyā* are enumerated below in the Sanskrit alphabetical order. Sometimes I explain the parts each word is composed of, the well-known lexicographers who quote it and the texts in which I found it. It is understood that the latter does not relate to the words commonly used in this meaning (*veśyā, gaṇikā, kulaṭā* etc.). In some doubtful cases I specify also the attributes of each word. However, the exact explanation of the particular expressions from the point of view of law I have reserved for the main work about the legal institution of prostitution in Ancient India which I am engaged in writing, though sometimes this explanation is given here (for instance *pratigaṇikā*, etc.)

In the Appendices I add a shorter list of synonyms in order to define : " Prostitution " (Appendix I.), " Multitude of prostitutes " (Appendix II.), " Guardian of prostitutes " (Appendix III.), " Prostitutes' Salary " (Appendix IV.), " Lover of prostitutes " (Appendix V.), " Brothel " (Appendix VI.), " Procuress " (Appendix VII.).

As to the aphorisms I quote them not in the alphabetical order but in groups according to their contents.

I must also point out that my reading of Sanskrit literature not being exhaustive—this would be impossible—I neither exhausted all the synonyms of the word *veśyā* nor quote all the aphorisms relating to venal love.

PART I.

A.

1. AJJUKĀ—A courtezan, (in drama), courtezan of the theatre. In Prakrit *ajjuā* (Mṛcch. 27,2/99). Amar. (ed. by Sahityācharya—Benares 1934, Nāṭyavargaḥ 11 b, p. 71/2) identifies the word *ajjukā* with the word *gaṇikā* (in a theatre). Also Śabd. referring to Amar. identifies the word *ajjukā* with the word *veśyā*. Hem. (334b) mentions the word *gaṇikājjukā*—a courtezan of the theatre. See No. 48.

*2. ADĀSĪ—*a*° (privativum) + °*dāsī* (slave). A non-slave, not purchased. A prostitute being between an inferior prostitute-slave (*dāsī*) and a courtezan (*kṛtāvarodhā* K. 146/12). *Striyaṁ dāsīmadhimehayatāṁ pūrvassāhasadaṇḍaḥ. Adāsīṁ madhyamaḥ kṛtāpavāhāmuttamaḥ.* That the reference is to a woman (prostitute) of inferior origin is apparent from the next sentence : *kulastriyaṁ vadhūḥ.* (K. 146/13). See J. J. Meyer-Das altindische Buch vom Welt-und Staatsleben (Leipzig p. 235/16 sqq).

*3. ADHAMAGAṆIKĀ—*adhama*° (most inferior) + °*gaṇikā* (courtezan). A courtezan of most inferior degree. The word *adhamagaṇikā* is not a synonym but rather characterises a courtezan. For each *veśyā*, *gaṇikā*, *rūpājīvā*, *kumbhadāsī* etc. can be either an *adhamagaṇikā* or an *uttamagaṇikā* or a *madhyamagaṇikā*. *Vividhā veśyā—gaṇikā rūpājīvā kumbhadāsī ca. Tāḥ pratyekamuttamamadhyamādhamabhedāttrividhāḥ* (Kām. 347/7, Jayamaṅgalā). Identically Rudraṭa-Śṛṅgāratilaka I-104, Sāhityadarpaṇa 122, Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra XXIII-34. She is such a person who when compared with an *uttamagaṇikā* possesses only a quarter of the merits of an *uttamagaṇikā* (Kām. 347/17, Jayamaṅgalā 348/5). In another sense her qualities are described in Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra (XXIII-40): "*Adhamagaṇikā* is such a person who flies into a passion not at the right place, is exceedingly bad-tempered, rough and obstinate and bears ill-will for a long time;" in Rasaratnahāra (44): "*adhamā* does evil although her husband does good. So she must be considered . . "; in Rudraṭa, Śṛṅgāratilaka (I-160); "*adhamā* is such a one who becomes angry without provocation although one does not speak to her nicely, acts without reason and is of unstable feelings"; and in Śukasaptati (t. s. p. 163, 3): "The desirous one, the exceedingly unstable one, the one who speaks without test, the adept in causing disaster, the ungrateful one—is considered vulgar one." The rules concerning the *lābhātiśaya* (special earnings) may be applied to them (Kām. 348/16 etc.)

*4. ANEKAPARIGRAHĀ—*a*° (privativum) + °*eka*°(one) + °*parigraha* (being on friendly terms (to have intercourse with a person). A girl who is not on friendly terms (who does not hold intercourse) with one male person.

Jayamaṅgalā to Kām. classifies *veśyā* into *ekaparigrahā*, *anekaparigrahā* and *aparigrahā* (341/25). Strictly speaking it is not a synonym but a literal rendering of the word *veśyā*. (*Trividhā veśyā—ekaparigrahā anekaparigrahā aparigrahā ceti.*)

*5. APARIGRAHĀ—*a*° (privativum) + °*parigraha* (being on friendly terms, to hold intercourse with a person). A girl who is on friendly terms (who does not hold sexual intercourse) not with one man only. Jayamaṅgalā to Kām. classifies *veśyā* into *ekaparigrahā*, *anekaparigrahā* and *aparigrahā* (341/25). Strictly speaking it is not a synonym but a literal rendering of the word *veśyā*. (*Trividhā veśyā—ekaparigrahā anekaparigrahā aparigrahā ceti*). The claims relating to various kinds of earnings may be applied to her. (Kām. §. 57).

*6. APSARAS, APSARĀ—A nymph from Śūdras heaven, a divine courtezan. According to Hem. (83a) the word *apsarā* is identified with the word *svarveśyā* and according to the commentary to Hem. with the word *devagaṇikā* (1183a). This expression is used already in the Vedas (R. Pischell u. K. Geldner, Vedische Studien, Stuttgart 1889, Vol. I. p. xxv) as well as in the Jātakas (for instance No. 182 and others). See also Raghuvaṁśa (V-50), Kumārasambhava (XVI-36, 48), Kathākośa ed. Tawney (p. 37, Zeitschrift der Morgenlaendischen Gesellschaft XXXIII-642 sqq.).

7. ABHISĀRIKĀ—from *abhisāra* (rendezvous). A courtezan going to a rendezvous, a prostitute. Hem. cited in Śabd. (under *abhisārikā*) and Hal. (II, 341) recognize the word *abhisārikā* as synonym of the words: *pāṁśulā*, *vaṁdhukī*, *svariṇī*, *puṁścalī*, *itvarī*, *dhārṣiṇī*, *kulaṭā*, *proktā*, *aviṇītā*.

8. ARTHAVṚTTIKĀ—*artha*° (money) + °*vṛttika* (way of acting). She who is living for profit, a prostitute. The word *arthavṛttikā* is mentioned in

Śukasaptati (No. 45) side by side with the words *gaṇikā, vilāsinī, rūpājīvā, dārikā*. See also Daṇḍin's—Daśakumāracarita uebersetzt und mit Einleitung versehen by J. J. Meyer, Leipzig, Lotus Verlag (p. 41. sqq.).

*9. AVARUDDHĀ—*ava*° (favour) + °*ruddha* (from *rudh*—locked in). A person locked in in favour ; one who is under the protection of a private person, a captive, a concubine, a mistress. J. J. Meyer-Das altindische Buch vom Welt-und Staatsleben p. 944, 192. A prostitute who puts herself under the protection of a private person (Dr. H. Shama Sastry : Translation of K., Mysore, 1915, p. 154).

K. (124/4-5) mentions the word *avaruddhā* in the chapter on courtezans. *Avišantī sapādapaṇāvaruddhā māsavetanaṁ dadyāt*. Y. II-290 places the word *avaruddha* side by side with the words *dāsī, bhujiṣyā* (or for the definition that they are captive persons). See also (N. XII-79). The word *avarodha* signifies a harem. Sometimes in the plural—the women of the harem.

**10. AVINĪTĀ—An unfaithful woman, an impudent woman, a badly behaved woman, an immoral woman. This word is used also as synonym of the words *puṁścalī* (Hem. p. 528, Hal. II-341), *pāṁśulā* (Hem. p. 528, Hal. II-341), *kulaṭā* (Hem. p. 528, Hal. II-341), *bandhakī* (Hem. 528), *vaṁdhukī*, Hal. II-341), *asatī, itvarī*, and *svairiṇī*, (Hem. p. 528, Hal. II-341), *dharṣiṇī* (Hem. Calc. edition, p. 528), *dharṣaṇī* (Hem. Calc. edition p. 528), *carṣaṇī* (Hem. 528), *abhisārikā* (Hal. II-341). As the synonym of the words *puṁścalī, kulaṭā*, etc. the word *avinītā* can be used sometimes as synonym of the word *veśyā*.

**11. ASATĪ—*a*° (privativum) + °*satī* (a faithful woman). A faithless woman. This word is used also as synonym of the words : *puṁścalī, pāṁśulā, kulaṭā, avinītā, svairiṇī* (all Hal. II-341 and Hem. p. 528), *itvarī* (Hem. p. 528, Med. cited by (Śabd.), *abhisārikā* and *carṣaṇī* (Hal. II-341), *dharṣiṇī* and *dharṣaṇī* (Amar. in Śabd.), *vaṁdhukī* (or *bandhukī*) (Hal. II-341), and *dhṛṣṭā* (Hem. p. 528, and Śabdaratn. in Śabd.). As the synonym of the words *puṁścalī, kulaṭā*, etc. the word *asatī* can be used in some cases as synonym of the word *veśyā*.

Ā.

12. ĀPAṆANĀRĪ—*āpaṇa*° (market goods) + °*nārī* (girl). A woman who is like an article of commerce i.e. a prostitute. To signify a prostitute Amitagati makes alternatively use of the words *veśyā, gaṇikā, paṇyayoṣit, paṇyapuraṁdhrī, dārikā, paṇyavanitā, āpaṇayoṣā* in the chapter entitled "Warning against Attachment to Prostitutes" (XXIV-21, 22).

13. ĀPAṆAYOṢĀ—*āpaṇa*° (market goods) + °*yoṣā* (woman). A woman who is like an article of commerce i.e. a prostitute. Amitagati makes use of this word in the sense of a prostitute in the chapter entitled : "Warning against Attachment to Prostitutes" (XXIV-20). For the criterion "prostitute" the author uses alternatively the words *āpaṇanārī, veśyā, gaṇikā, paṇyayoṣit, paṇyapuraṁdhrī, dārikā* and *paṇyavanitā*.

I

*14. ITVARĪ—An unfaithful woman. This word is used as synonym of the following words : *puṁścalī* (according to Amar. Nṛvarga 10 b p. 43 and Hem. p. 528), *pāṁśulā* (according to Hem. op. cit.), *kulaṭā* (according to Hem. op. cit. and Amar. op. cit.), *svairiṇī* (according to Hem. op. cit.), *bandhavī* (according to Amar. op. cit.), *avinītā* (according to Hem. op. cit.), *bandhakī*

(according to Hem. op. cit.), *asatī* and *abhisārikā* (according to Amar. op. cit. and in Med. cited in Śabd.) and *carṣaṇī* (according to Hem. op. cit.), See Hem. Dhāt. (II-17).

U.

*15. UTTAMAGAṆIKĀ—*uttama*° (the highest) + °*gaṇikā* (courtezan). A courtezan of the highest class. The word *uttamagaṇikā* is not a synonym but rather describes the characteristic of a courtezan. For a *veśyā, gaṇikā, rūpājīvā, kumbhadāsī* etc. can be either an *adhamagaṇikā* or an *uttamagaṇikā* or an *madhyamagaṇikā, Vividhā veśyā—gaṇikā rūpājīvā kumbhadāsī ca. Tāḥ pratyekamuttamamadhyamādhamabhedāttrividhāḥ*. (Kām. 347/7, Jayamaṅgalā). Identically Rudraṭa-Śṛṅgāratilaka (I-104), Sāhityadarpaṇa (122)', Bhāratīyanāṭyasāstra (XXIII-34). She is such a person who compared with an *adhamagaṇikā* and a *madhyamagaṇikā* has to be generally endowed with beauty, qualities of a sweetheart and the knowledge of the 64 tricks. (*Rūpādibhirnāyikāguṇakalādibhiranvitā uttamagaṇikāḥ. Guṇānāṁ ca pādārdhābhyāṁ madhyamādhamāḥ*). (Kām. 347/16-17). Other characteristics of the *uttamagaṇikā* are described also in Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra (XXIII-35/37), Śukasaptati (t. s. p. 162/1), Rudraṭa-Śṛṅgāratilaka (I-156), Rasaratnahāra (43a/6). In Kām are also the rules referring to her special earning (*lābhātiśayaḥ*) (Kām. 347/3 sqq.). In Kathāsaritsāgara (Tar. 124) Devadatta is a *gaṇikottama*. See No. 53.

*16. UPAJĪVYĀ KANYĀ—*upa*° (hither) + *jīv*° (to live, gerundium) + °*kanyā* (girl) She who maintains herself on the earnings of her body i.e. by prostitution. Quoted in that meaning in Carr. 371 cited by Boehtlingk in I. S. 7441.

**17. URVAŚĪ—Concupiscence, the name of an *Apsara*. The goddess of courtezans. Sometimes in poetry the word *urvaśī* is applied to courtezans. As *veśyā* the word *urvaśī* is to be found in Amar. (*Svargavarga* 52). *Strīyāṁ bahuṣvapsarasaḥ svarveśyā urvaśīmukhāḥ*. Hindi commentary: *Apsaraṣaḥ—Urvaśī ādi svargaki veśyāoṁkā nām hai*; similarly Hem. (p. 183 a). On the legend of *urvaśī* after the loss of whom the King Purūravas became mad (*rg*) is based Kālidāsa's drama Vikramorvaśīya.

*18. UṢĀ—The dawn (ηως—of the Greeks and Aurora of the Romans). Principally in the Vedic poetry this word is sometimes used to signify a courtezan. See R. Pischel und K. Geldner—Vedische Studien, Stuttgart 1897 p. XXV sqq.

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19. ṚCCHARĀ—from *arc* (to obtain, to serve). She who serves male persons, a prostitute. Uṇādikośa cited in Śabd. (at *ṛccharā*) identifies the word *ṛccharā* with the word *veśyā*.

E

*20. EKAPARIGRAHĀ—*eka*° (one) + °*parigraha* (being on friendly terms, to hold intercourse with a person). A girl who is on very friendly terms with one man (holds sexual intercourse). Jayamaṅgalā to Kām. classifies *veśyā* into *ekaparigrahā, anekaparigrahā* and *aparigrahā* (341/25). Strictly speaking it is not a synonym but a literal rendering of the word *veśyā*. (*Trividdhā veśyā—ekaparigrahā anekaparigrahā aparigrahā ceti*).

K.

21. KAṆERĀ or KANERĀ—A she-elephant a prostitute. Uṇādikośa in Śabd. (at *kaneṛā*) considers this word as synonym of the words *veśyā* and *hastinī*.

22. KAṆERŪ—A she-elephant, a prostitute. Medhini in Śabd. at *kaṇerū* considers this word as synonym of the words *veśyā* and *kariṇī*.

23. KARIṆĪ—A she-elephant, a prostitute. We find this word between the words *veśyā* and *gaṇikā* in Anekārthasamucchaya of Śāśvata ed. by Krishnaji Govind Oka (Poona 1918). Medini in Śabd. (at *kaṇerū*) considers this word as synonym of the words *veśyā* and *kaṇerū*.

24. KAREṆU—A she-elephant, a prostitute. See No. 22.

*25. KALAKŪJIKĀ—An unchaste woman, a prostitute. See No. 26.

*26. KALAKŪṆIKĀ—An unchaste woman, a prostitute. According to Hem. (529 a) the synonyms of the word *kalakūjikā* are : *kulaṭā bandhudā, dharṣaṇī, lāṇḍhanī, khaṇḍaśīlā, madanānālikā, trilocanā*.

*27. KALATŪLIKĀ—An unchaste woman, a prostitute. Trik. (Manuṣyavarga 5 p. 24. v. 14-15) cites this word as synonym of the words *vāñcirī* and *lañjikā*. This word can be used in some cases as synonym of the word *veśyā*.

28. KĀMAREKHĀ—*kāma*° (desire, love)] + °*rekha* (from *rikh-* to scratch). A courtezan. Śabdamāla cited in Śabd. (at *kāmarekhā*) considers the word *kāmarekhā* as synonym of the words *veśyā, lañjikā, bandhurā, kumbhā, varvvati* (*barbaṭī*).

29. KĀMALEKHĀ—A courtezan. Identical with *kāmarekhā*. See No. 28.

*30. KĀMINĪ—from *kāma* (desire, love). A woman who devotes her life to love. *Atiśaya kāmayuktā nārī* (Amar. in Śabd. at *kāmini*). See Kām. p. 366/2,

**31. KUṬAHĀRIKĀ—A servant who brings a water-jug. Hem. (534) places the word *kuṭahārikā* between the words *dāsī* (identically Hem. in Śabd. at *kuṭahārikā*), *poṭā, voṭā, ceṭī*. The word *kuṭahārikā* as synonym of the word *dāsī* can in some cases mean a prostitute.

**32. KUṬṬAHĀRIKĀ—A female servant. Hal. (II-337), considers the word *kuṭṭahārikā* as synonym of the words *dāsī, voṭā, poṭā, ceṭī*. The word *kuṭṭahārikā* as synonym of the word *dāsī* can be understood in some cases to mean a prostitute. See No. 31.

**33. KUMĀRĪ—A young girl. K. (124/13) uses the word *kumārī* in the sense of a young prostitute girl i.e. a not yet sexually mature girl. (J. J. Meyer : Das Buch vom Welt-und Staatsleben, Leipzig p. 194/9 and 26 sqq. See Shama Sastri's translation of K. XXVII). For a sexual intercourse with such a young prostitute against her will is provided a much higher penalty than for a sexual intercourse with a *gaṇikā* against her will. In Ratirahasya (fol. 18 a) we find together with the word *dāsī* etc. the word *kumārī* as a suitable person for a messenger of love (*dūtī*). Other Kāmasūtras (Anaṅgaraṅga fol. 14 a, Pañcasāyaka IO, 2526 Sāhityadarpaṇa 157) use the word *bālā* in similar cases. Therefore, it is to be supposed that the word *kumārī* is used in Ratirahasya (fol. 18 a) in the sense of "a young girl" and not of "a young prostitute girl."

34. KUMBHADĀSĪ—*kumbha*° (a cup, a goblet) + °*dāsī* (a slave). A slave of a cup, a girl who brings a cup, a harlot. *Kumbhadāsī* forms a special sort of *veśyā* (besides *gaṇikā* and *rūpājivā*). In Kām. we find a following sentence : *Vividhā veśyā—gaṇikā rūpājivā kumbhadāsī ca* (347/7, 348/19). According to Kām. (363/15-16) *kumbhadāsī* as well as *gaṇikā* and *rūpājivā* are three kinds of *sāmānyā*. *Loke sāmanyāstrayaḥ prasiddāḥ. Kumbhadāsī gaṇikā rūpājivā ceti*. But in another place Kām. (184/12) asserts that to

the *veśyā* belong *gaṇikā* and *rūpājīvā* but not *kumbhadāsī*. Kām. quoting nine kinds of *veśyā* (364/13-14) mentions *kumbhadāsī* in the first place and then *paricārikā, kulaṭā, svairiṇī, naṭī, śilpakārikā, prakāśavinaṣṭā, rūpājīvā, gaṇikā*. Milind. p. 331 in Daṇḍin's Daśakumāracarita, (transl. by J. J. Meyer—Leipzig) considers *kumbhadāsī* as well as *veśyā, lāsikā, vāratrī, rūpājīvā, gaṇikā* as an" ornament of a city" (*nagaramaṇḍana*) treating them all as types of prostitutes.

Jayamaṅgalā, commentator of Kām. (363/15) asserts : *kumbhadāsīti kumbhagrahaṇaṁ nikṛṣṭakarmopalakṣaṇam*. In any case *kumbhadāsī* is an inferior *veśyā*. (See above Kām. 184/12). It is obvious also from the fact that the so called " Eunuch's love " was applied only for the inferior kinds of harlots i.e. *kumbhadāsī* and *paricārikā*. (Kām. 184/3-4).

Besides from the expression " a slave of a cup,"—a prostitute—we find in Śabdaratnāvali cited in Śabd. (at *kumbadāsī*) the word *kumbhadāsī* in the sense of *kuṭṭanī* as well as of *gaṇerukā* (identically Hem. ad 525 a) and of *ceṭī* and *vaḍavā* (Hem. ad 525a).

According to Kām. (348/3 sqq.) *kumbhadāsī* wears white clothes, jewels, gold strips, is good and makes use of perfumes.

35. KUMBHĀ—A prostitute. Śabdamāla cited in Śabd. quotes the words *veśyā, lañjikā, bandhurā, kāmarekhā, varvvatī* (*barbbaṭī*) as synonyms of the word *kumbhā*.

36. KULAṬĀ—An unfaithful woman, a prostitute. Kām. quoting 9 kinds of *veśyā* (363/13-14) mentions *kulaṭā* in the third place after *kumbhadāsīparicārikā* and before *svairiṇī, naṭī, śilpakārikā, prakāśavinaṣṭā, rūpājīvā*, and *gaṇikā*. *Kulaṭā* is an inferior kind of *veśyā*. In Jayamaṅgalā the commentary on Kām. (363/18-19) we find the following definition of *kulaṭā* : *kulaṭāya patibhayādgrahantaraṁ gatvā pracchannamanyena saṁprayujyate*. Rasaratnahāra (27) defines *kulaṭā* in the following manner : " *kulaṭā* who desires some men is a courtezan (is to be pointed out as a courtezan)." According to Brahmavaivarta-Purāṇa (Prakṛti Khaṇḍa-31) she who goes to another man besides her husband for immoral purposes is named *kulaṭā*. Kām. (235/2) defines *kulaṭā* as a woman who clandestinely commits adultery. In poetical language *kulaṭā* is defined in Pañcarātra (1, 14, 84—Bibl. Ind. 1863). " *Kulaṭā* does not know truth, obligations, fear, compassion, manners, shame, her thoughts are always with her lover. Irrespective of whether he sleeps or not, if he is eating, or lying in bed, she is always thinking about her lover and does not have affection for another person but only for her lover." According to Hem. (528), commentators on Hem. (ad 529 a), Pañcarātra and others—the synonyms of the word *kulaṭā* are as follows : *puṁścalī, pāṁśulā, svairiṇī, bandhakī, asatī, avinītā, itvarī, caṛṣaṇī, caṛṣaṇi, dharṣaṇī, bandhudā, kalakūṇikā, khaṇḍaśīlā, madanonālikā, trilocanā* and *manohārī*.

37. KṚTĀPARĀDHĀ—*kṛta*° (made) + °*aparādha* (fault). A girl who commits a fault. A prostitute. *Kṛtāparādhā* is a prostitute who is placed higher than a *dāsī*, and an *adāsī*. *Striyaṁ dāsīmadhimehayatāṁ pūrvassāhasadaṇḍaḥ. Adāsīṁ madhyamaḥ kṛtāparādhāmuttamaḥ* (K. 146/12). That the reference is to a woman (prostitute) of inferior origin is apparent from Kām. (146/13) : *Kulastriyāṁ vadhaḥ*. See J. J. Meyer—Das altindische Buch vom Welt-und Staatsleben, Leipzig p. 235/16 sqq.)

*38. KṚTĀVARODHĀ—*kṛta*° (made) + °*avarodha* (harem, seized, captured). A captured girl, a prostitute. *Kṛtāvarodhā* is a prostitute who is placed higher than a *dāsī* and *adāsī*, See No. 37. (K. 146/12). That the reference is to

a woman (prostitute) of inferior origin is apparent from Kām. (146/13): *Kulastriyām vadha's*. See J. J. Meyer—Das altindische Buch vom Welt-und Staatsleben, Leipzig p. 235/16 sqq.).

**39. KOṬARĪ—A naked woman, a naked lascivious woman. Identical with *koṭavī* and *koṭṭavī*. See No. 40, 41.

**40. KOṬAVĪ—A naked woman, a naked, lascivious woman. Śabdaratnāvali cited in Śabd. (at *nagnā*) quotes the word *koṭavī* as synonym of the words *nagnā* (identically Amar., Bombay 1894 v. 1107), *nagnikā*, *nagnayoṣit* and *koṭṭavī*. See No. 39, 41, 42.

**41. KOṬṬAVĪ—A naked woman, a naked lascivious woman. Śabdaratnāvali cited in Śabd. (at *nagnā*) quotes the word *koṭṭavī* as synonym of the words *nagnā*, *nagnikā*, *koṭavī* and *nagnayoṣit*. See No. 39, 40, 42.

**42. KAUṬAVĪ—A naked woman, a naked, lascivious woman. Hem. (532) considers the word *kauṭavī* as synonym of the word *nagnā* and Hem. (Calc. edition, 534b) as synonym of the word *nagnikā*. See No. 39, 40, 41.

43. KṢUDRĀ—A despised woman. Hal. (II-335) considers the words *kṣudrā* (identically comment. to Hem. ad 533a., Jatādhara in Śabd., at *veśyā*, and Amar. cited in Śabd. at *kṣudrā*), *gaṇikā*, *rūpājīvā* and *paṇyāṅganā* as synonyms. Hem. (ad 533a) adds as synonyms of the word *kṣudrā*—*khagālikā* and *caravānikā*, Amar. (cited in Śabd. at *kṣudrā*)—*vyaṅgā* and *naṭī* etc. Jātadhara cited in Śabd. (at *veśyā*)—*śālabhañjikā*.

KH.

44. KHAGĀLIKĀ—*khaga*° (bird, arrow) + °*alikā* (the Indian cuckoo, false). A courtezan, Indian cuckoo (often used for the expression falseness, also often used in the meaning *veśyā*). Hem. (ad 533) considers the words *veśyā*, *cāravāṇikā*. *kṣudrā* and *malekhā* as synonyms of the word *khagālikā*.

**45. KHAṆḌAŚĪLĀ—*khaṇḍa*° (crippled) + °*śī*° (morality). A woman of bad conduct, a faithless woman, a prostitute. Hem. (529a) uses the words *kulaṭā*, *bandhudā*, *kalakūṇikā*, *dharṣaṇi*, *lāṇḍhanī*, *madananālikā*, *tilocanā* and *manohārī* as synonyms of the word *khaṇḍaśilā*.

G.

46. GAṆIKĀ—A courtezan. This is the word most frequently used in the whole literature for the expression "courtezan". It is the expression for women of the highest degree who live on venal love. Kām. (363/13-14) quoting 9 kinds of *veśyā* mentions last (probably as the highest kind of women living on venal love) the *gaṇikā*, besides *kumbhadāsī*, *paricārikā*, *kulaṭā*, *svairiṇi*, *naṭī*, *śilpakārikā*, *prakāśavinaṣṭā* and *rūpājīvā*. Milind. p. 331 in Daṇḍin's Dasakumāracarita, transl. by J. J. Meyer (Lipzig) considers *gaṇikā* and *kumbhadāsī*, *lāsikā*, *vārastrī*, *veśyā*, *rūpājīvā*, as an "ornament of the city" (*nagaramaṇḍana*) treating them all as prostitutes. According to K. (123/16, 125/5 and others) *gaṇikā* is not a free person and is under the subjugation of the king. She has to pay a special redemption—fee for the purchase of her own liberty. In the literature and by the lexicographers she is identified with *sādhāraṇastrī*, *sāmānyā*, *veśyā*, *rūpājīvā*, *vārastrī*, *paṇyāṅganā*, *paṇāṅganā*, *vilāsinī*, *dāsī*. *lañjikā*, *kṣudrā*, *bhujiṣyā*, etc.

*47. GAṆIKĀKUṬUMBA—*gaṇikā*° (courtezan) +°*kuṭumba* (housekeeping). An establishment for courtezans. In the texts I have not met this expression. But J. J. Meyer : Das Altindische Buch vom Welt-und Staatsleben, (Leipzig. p. 192/38-193/19) asserts that this word has two meanings : either an establishment for courtezans, or a deputy-courtezan (*Aushilfskurtisane*). Meyer's explanations are not convincing.

48. GAṆIKĀJJUKĀ—A theatric courtezan. See No. 1.

49. GAṆIKĀDĀRIKĀ—*gaṇikā*° (courtezan) + °*dārikā* (girl). A harlot girl. In Daṇḍin's Daśakumāracarita Chap. II. "The Adventure of Apahāravarman" (p. 226), story of the hermit Marīci, the author speaking of Kāmamañjarī calls her *gaṇikādārikā* or *gaṇikā*, etc.

50. GAṆIKĀDĀSĪ—*gaṇikā*° (courtezan) + °*dāsī* (slave). A slave who is a courtezan. I met this expression in K. (124/3). Such a courtezan "capable of rendering service in the form of enjoyment has to work in the storehouse or kitchen of the king." This sentence is taken to mean in a different sense by J. J. Meyer (see Das Altindische Buch vom Welt-und Staantsleben, p. 193/11 and 193/33) and still in another sense by Shama Sastri (Gov. Oriental Series-Bibl. Sanscrita 37, part 2). p. 153. (in my opinion incorrectly).

51. GAṆIKĀDUHITAR—*gaṇikā*° (courtezan) + °*duhitar* (daughter). The courtezan's daughter, harlot. The proper meaning of that word is courtezan's daughter but it is apparent from the following sentence of Kām. (68/19) that the word *gaṇikāduhitar* together with the word *paricārikā* means a kind of *veśyā*. *Gaṇikāduhitā paricārikā ca sukhakāryatvādveśyāyām.* (Kām. 68/19). According to Ghoṭakamukha (cit. by Kām. 67/19) a *ananyapūrvā gaṇikāyāduhitā* (courtezan's daughter who is not deflorated) or an *ananyapūrvā paricārikā* (*paricārikā* who is not deflorated) have to be visited seventh among stranger women.

52. GAṆIKĀYĀ DUHITAR - Identical with *gaṇikā duhitar*. See No. 51.

53. GAṆIKOTTAMA—*gaṇikā*° (courtezan) + °*uttama* (the highest). Identical with *uttamagaṇikā*. See No. 16. So is described Devadatta in Tar. 124 of Kathāsaritsāgara (herausgegeben von H. Brockhaus. Leipzig, Paris 1839, p. 177a).

54. GAṆERU—A prostitute, a she-elephant. Medini in Śabd. (at *gaṇeru*) quotes the word *gaṇeru* as synonym of the words *veśyā* and *hastini*.

*55. GAṆERUKĀ—from *gaṇeru*. Procuress, servant, prostitute. As synonym of these three expressions is this word to be found with many authors. As synonym of the word *kuṭṭinī* it is to be found in Trikāṇḍaśeṣa in Śabd. (at *gaṇerukā*). As synonym of the word *ceṭī* in Hem. (ād 534) and of the word *dāsī* in Trikāṇḍaśeṣa, Manuṣyavarga 6. As synonym of the word *kumbhadāsī* in Hem. (ad 534) and in Śabdaratnāvalī cited in Śabd. (at *kuṭṭanī*) and of the word *veḍavā* in Hem. (ad 534a); the two expressions rather in the sense of a procuress.

**56. GAṂDHAKĀRIKĀ or GANDHAKĀRIKĀ—*gandha*° (perfumery) + °*kā*° (she who prepares). A female employed in preparing perfumery. I did not meet this word in the sense of a prostitute. However, its location in Hal. (II-337) between *dāsī*, *kuṭṭahārikā*, *sairandhrī*, *poṭā*, *voṭa*, *ceṭī*, indicates that according to this author the word *gaṃdhakārikā* can mean a special kind of prostitute. This word is identified with the word *sairandhrī*. See No. 226.

57. GUPTAVEŚYĀ—*gupta*° (secret) + °*veśyā* (prostitute). A secret prostitute, i.e. a girl who is a prostitute in secret. She belongs to an honest family. There exists inter alia a division of *veśyā* into *rājaveśyā*, *nagarī*, *guptaveśyā*, *devaveśyā*, and *brahmaveśyā* (*tīrthagā*). (See Mahānirvāṇatantra, transl. by N. Dutt 1900, p. xxvii, cited by J. J. Meyer : Das Weib im altindischen Epos, Leipzig 1915, chap. IX). Rasaratnahāra (23/27) also and Rasamañjarī (23) sqq. recognise a division in *parakīyā* (a woman who is owned by another person) and in *guptaparakīyā*.

C.

**58. CARṢAṆĪ—An unfaithful woman (a running woman), a prostitute. Hemacandra's Dhātupāṭha (Vienna-Bombay 1901) (1-506) identifies the word *carṣaṇi* with the word *kulaṭā* (identically Hem. 528-529). Hem. (528-529 identifies the word *carṣaṇī* with the words *puṁścalī*, *pāṁśulā*, *bandhakī*, *svairiṇī*, *asatī*, *itvarī*, *avinītā*, and the Calc. edition of Hem. (ad 528B) with *dharṣiṇi* *dharṣaṇi*, *varṣaṇī* and others.

59. CĀRAVĀNIKĀ—A harlot. Quoted by Hem. (ad 533a) between *veśyā*, *khagālikā*, *kṣudrā* and *malekhā*.

**60. CEṬIKĀ—from *ceṭī* (servant). A servant, a slave. Dvirūpakośa cited in Śabd. (at *ceṭikā*) considers the word *ceṭikā* as a synonym of the word *dāsī*. The explanations relating to *ceṭī* are also applied to *ceṭikā*. See No. 61.

**61. CEṬĪ—A servant, a slave. Hem. (534b) considers the word *ceṭī* as a synonym of the word *dāsī* (identically Hal. II-337). According to Hem. (534b) and Hal. (II-337) the word *ceṭī* is like the words *poṭā*, *voṭā*, and *kuṭahārikā* and according to Hem. (ad 534a) like the words *kumbhadāsī*, *vaḍavā* and *gaṇerukā*. Therefore, it may be accepted that in some cases *ceṭī* can mean also a prostitute. Smaradīpikā (Rec. A. fol. 8b) considers *ceṭī* a person suitable for being *dūtī* (*dūtikā*) and Pañcasāyaka (IO, 2526) considers that *ceṭī* is a woman with whom a man in love ought never to have intercourse. (In these words Pañcasāyaka expressed probably his opinion that *ceṭī* is a prostitute).

JH.

62. JHARJHARĀ—A prostitute. Śabdaratnāvalī cited in Śabd. (at *veśyā*) considers the word *jharjharā* as a synonym of the word *veśyā* (identically Trikāṇḍaśeṣa— ed. Colebrooke, Calcutta 1807, Manuṣyavarga 5, p. 24, v. 14-15), *śūlā* (identically Trikāṇḍaśeṣa op. cit.), *vāravilāsini*, *vāravāṇi* (identically Trikāṇḍaśeṣa op. cit), and *bhaṇḍahāsini*.

T.

63. TĪRTHAGĀ—(*Brahmaveśyā*)—A prostitute of bathing-places. There exists inter alia a division of *veśyā* into *rājaveśyā*, *nagarī*, *guptaveśyā*, *devaveśyā*, and *brahmaveśyā* (*tīrthagā*). (See Mahānirvāṇatantra, transl. by N. Dutt 1900 p. xxvii, cited by J. J. Meyer : Das Welb im Altindischen Epos. Leipzig 1915, chap. IX).

64. TRAPĀRAṆḌĀ—*trapā*° (shame, an unfaithful woman) +°*raṇḍā* (widow). An unfaithful woman (widow), a prostitute. Jaṭādhara cited in Śabd. (at *trapāraṇḍā*) considers the word *trapāraṇḍā* as a synonym of the word *veśyā*. The same author quoted in Śabd. (at *puṁścalī*) identifies this word with the words *puṁścalī*, *laṅkā*, and *niśacārī*.

**65. TRILOCANĀ—An unfaithful woman. Hem. (ad 529a) considers the word *trilocanā* as a synonyme of the words *kulaṭā, kalakūṇikā, bandhudā, dharṣaṇī, lāṇḍhamī, khaṇḍaśīlā, madanamālikā,* and *manohārī*. As synonyme of the word *kulaṭā* etc. the word *trilocanā* can mean also in some cases—a prostitute.

D.

66. DADHAGAṆIKĀ—A young courtezan. In Daṇḍin's Daśakumāracarita (Apahāravarman's Adventure, 117/4) the younger sister of the *veśyā* Kāmamañjarī (133/5) called Rāgamañjarī is designated with the word *dadhagaṇikā* (117/4) and in another place with the word *dāsī* (118/2).

67. DĀRIKĀ—A prostitute. In Śukasaptatī (No. 45) *gaṇikā, vilāsinī, rupājīvā, arthavṛtikā,* and *dārikā* are used as synonymes for a prostitute. Amitagati's Subhāṣitasandoha (XXIV-14) makes use of this word in the sense of a prostitute in the chapter entitled : "Warning against Attachment to Prostitutes" (Jaina work). For the word "prostitute" the author uses alternatively the words *paṇyavanitā, paṇyayoṣit, āpaṇayoṣā, āpaṇanārī, paṇyapuramdhrī, veśyā,* and *gaṇikā*.

68. DĀSĪ—A slave, a common woman, prostitute. *Dāsī* is a prostitute of a lower degree. *Dāsī* is not a free person. Higher than a *dāsī* is an *adāsī* and a *kṛtavarodhā*. (K. 146/12). *Striyaṁ dāsīmadhimehayatāṁ pūrvassāhasadaṇḍaḥ. Adāsīṁ madhyamaḥ kṛtāparādhāmuttamaḥ.* That the question is of a woman (prostitute) of inferior origin is apparent from the next sentence : *Kulastriyāṁ vadhaḥ* (K. 146/13). Medini cited in Śabd. (at *bhujiṣyā*) identifies *dāsī* with *gaṇikā*, and *bhujiṣyā*. This is not correct because *dāsī* has to be regarded as the lowest class of prostitute. It should be explained that the word *dāsī* means also a prostitute. (It would be better if the word *veśyā* instead of the word *gaṇikā* were used. But these two words are often used alternatively). Also Y. (II-290) identifies the word *dāsī* with the word *bhujiṣyā*. The correct view is that of Hem. cited in Śabd. (at *ceṭī* and *kuṭahārikā*) who identifies the word *dāsī* with the words *ceṭī* (identically Hem. 534a, Hal. II-337, Hemacandra's Anekārthasaṁgraha-Vienna, Bombay 1893-2, 569a) and *voṭā* (identically Hem. op. cit., Hal. op. cit.), *kuṭahārikā* (identically Hem. op. cit., Hal. op. cit.) and the view of Hem. (op. cit.) who considers the word *dāsī* as a synonym of the word *poṭā* (identically Hal. op. cit.) as well as the view of Dvirūpakośa (cited in Śabd. at *ceṭikā*) who identifies the word *dāsī* with the word *ceṭikā*.

That the second principal meaning of the word *dāsī* i.e. prostitute is correct, is clear from many other sources. For instance Daṇḍin's Daśa*kumāracarita*, ch. 2, Apahāravarman's Adventure applies to Kāmamañjarī (*veśyā, gaṇikā*) as well as to her younger sister Rāgamañjarī (*dadhagaṇikā*) the word *dāsī*.

It is remarkable that K. (234/11) speaking of the violating of prostitutes by one or more men makes use of nearly the same words as Y. (II-291), but for the word prostitute we find in K. the word *rūpājīvā* (K. 234/11), whilst Y. makes use of the word *dāsī*. That can also prove that the words *rūpājīvā* and *dāsī* can be regarded as synonyms, as far as the meaning "prostitute" is concerned.

Anaṅgaraṅga (fol. 14a), Pañcasāyaka (IO, 2526), Sāhityadarpaṇa 157), Ratirahasya (fol. 18a) and others consider *dāsi* as a person suitable to become *dūtī*.

(To be continued.)

†Dr. VISHNU S. SUKTHANKAR

(1887-1943)

The sad, sudden and premature death of Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR on the 21st January removes a unique personality in the domain of the *Mahābhārata*, one of the greatest Orientalists in India, and will be mourned the world over by his friends and admirers. The sad demise is all the more tragic and poignant, following as it did, so soon after the Silver Jubilee celebrations of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, in which he was presented with a silver medal in recognition of his meritorious services in the cause of the Institute. Dr. SUKTHANKAR devoted over 17 years of his precious life to the *Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata*, which will ever remain as a glorious monument of Indian scholarship. The last moments of his conscious life were spent in revising the type-script of his 'three dimensional view of the *Mahābhārata*', on which he was to lecture before the University of Bombay the next evening. A great figure that towered like a Titan in our midst has been joined to the majority.

Born on 4th May, 1887, Dr. SUKTHANKAR received his early education at the Maratha High School and St. Xavier's College, Bombay. He was a bright and brilliant student, and after his Intermediate Examination, he sailed to England to compete for the I.C.S. He was, however, destined to serve Indology. He joined St. John's College, Cambridge, where he got his M.A., and then proceeded to Berlin to study under Dr. LÜDERS for his Ph. D. The late Rev. Father ZIMMERMANN, who was later associated with him in the *Mahābhārata* was a fellow student of Dr. SUKTHANKAR at Berlin. Dr. SUKTHANKAR served for some time in the Archæological Survey of India, Western Circle, as Assistant Superintendent. He joined the Bhandarkar Institute in August, 1925 as the General Editor of the *Mahābhārata*.

Dr. SUKTHANKAR was not only a great scholar of the *Mahābhārata*, but a linguist and linguistician, well versed in palæography, epigraphy, archæology and ancient Indian culture as well. In fact, as he said in his Presidential Address at the Linguistic Section of the Tenth All-India Oriental Conference, his preoccupation with the *Mahābhārata* work had divorced him more and more from the fascinating subject of comparative grammar. Besides "Die Grammatik Śākaṭāyanas" (Leipzig, 1921) and "Svapnavāsavadattā (English translation)" (Oxford, 1923) he contributed a number of articles to *ABORI*, *EI*, *IA*, *JAOS*, *JBBRAS*, *QJMS*, *Shama'a*, *ZDMG* and to various commemoration volumes. Dr SUKTHANKAR had made a critical and exhaustive study of Bhāsa, specially from linguistic, metrical, stylistic, grammatical, Prakritic and dramatic points of view and published a series of six articles entitled "Studies in Bhāsa" which were followed by a few more articles on the subject. These articles are masterpieces and exhibit a perfect grasp of the subject. His article on the home of the so-called Andhra Kings (*ABORI*, I, 21-42) criticised the prevailing theories. He was Chief Editor of *JBBRAS*, and was elected Section President at the All-India Oriental Conference, Mysore and Tirupati, and Indian History Congress, Calcutta. He was Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society (Bombay Branch). Dr. SUKTHANKAR was the only Indian to be the Hon. Member of the American Oriental Society after Dr. R. G. BHANDARKAR. I shall presently speak about his Critical Edtion of the *Mahābhārata* (the mis-

sion of his life), the *Prolegomena*, and his "Epic Studies" and "Epic Questions" which will ever stand as glowing monuments to his memory.

I first came in contact with Dr. SUKTHANKAR in 1928-29 as a post-graduate student at the Bhandarkar Institute where he used to lecture on "Philology." 'Bhāsa' brought me in closer contact with Dr. SUKTHANKAR. I had the very rare and proud privilege of being his student for my Ph. D. He was always very kind and sympathetic towards me, and had a genuine regard and appreciation for me. I have vivid recollections of many a pleasant evening I spent in his study at the Institute, talking on various topics, which inspired and invigorated me. It is indeed melancholy to realise that the loving figure is now no more. He took keen interest in the progress of my studies and even in my personal matters. Dr. SUKTHANKAR had a high opinion about my humble work and wrote encouraging comments on the off-prints I sent to him. It was a great honour and a privilege to be favoured by presents of his off-prints. Last June, I had the good fortune of coming in closest touch with him in connection with the Survey article on Epic and Purānic studies, when he spent hours in explaining to me particulars about the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata* and in directing me as to how I should prepare the paper. I felt my labours amply rewarded when Dr. SUKTHANKAR wrote to me that he was highly pleased with my work. He had promised to initiate me into the intricacies of text-edition in connection with the Critical Edition of the *Vāyu-Purāṇa* at which I am working. I saw him for the last time on the 15th January after his second lecture on the *Mahābhārata* when he spoke to me about the Kṛṣṇa problem. I owe a deep debt of gratitude to Dr. SUKTHANKAR for all that he did for me.

Dr. SUKTHANKAR joined the Bhandarkar Institute in 1925. The first fascicule of the Ādiparvan was published in 1927, and the complete Ādiparvan appeared in 1933 along with the *Prolegomena*. The Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata* spread the fame of Dr. SUKTHANKAR throughout the world, and the soundness of his method has been approved by such exacting critics as Doctors EDGERTON, LÉVI, LÜDERS, WELLER, WINTERNITZ, and by such distinguished academic bodies as the British Academy, the American Oriental Society and the International Congress of Orientalists. The publication has been acclaimed all the world over as a masterpiece, a monumental work, the finest product of Indian scholarship. Dr. SUKTHANKAR combined in him the critical faculty of the Western scholar and a full knowledge of the Western methods, with a thorough grasp of conditions and MS. traditions in India. The colossal task demanded in the editor philological acumen, keen insight—almost a sixth sense for spotting the right reading,—and Dr. SUKTHANKAR possessed these qualities to a very high degree, being qualified for this "monumental task by his learning, training, skill and enthusiasm". Indeed no better testimony can be given about Dr. SUKTHANKAR's worth than the remarks of Dr. WINTERNITZ who states: "Neither in India nor in Europe will any one scholar be found who could have done the work better than Dr. SUKTHANKAR has done". The *Prolegomena* is a model of good temper, moderation and objectivity and the general principles enunciated therein have been proved to be "unquestionably sound". Dr. SUKTHANKAR next brought out the Āraṇyakaparvan, the last fascicule of which was published a few days before his death. In the first four of his series of "Epic Studies" in which eight articles have appeared, Dr. SUKTHANKAR answers with great precision and in detail, some of the fundamental criticisms levelled against the principles enunciated in the *Prolegomena* or their application in particular contexts. The fifth deals with "*Mahābhārata* Commentators", the sixth with the "Bhṛgus and the Bhārata" which is the best specimen of higher criticism, the seventh with the "Oldest Extant MS. of the Ādiparvan" and the last, with the "Rāmopākhyāna and Rāmāyaṇa". There are only two "Epic Questions"; the second appeared in the Jubilee No. of the Annals, alas, the last article from the pen of Dr. SUKTHAN-

KAR. It is a great pity Dr. SUKTHANKAR did not live to see the completion of the work so successfully inaugurated by him.

Dr. SUKTHANKAR was a giant in his subjects, the greatest authority on the Great Epic of India. Having come into his contact, it was impossible not to be impressed by his courtesy, simplicity and charm of manner. Dr. SUKTHANKAR's qualities were manifold : generosity, frankness, affability, desire to do good to junior scholars in particular, freedom from intrigue, and exclusive pursuit of his aims and ideals. Dr. SUKTHANKAR's undivided and rare devotion to the great cause of the *Mahābhārata* achieved what seemed to be a stupendous, colossal, gigantic and impossible undertaking. Dr. SUKTHANKAR has placed the work of Critical Edition on a sound basis, and it will be the fittest memorial to him to see the whole work through in accordance with the high standards laid down by him. Dr. SUKTHANKAR's writings deserve to be published in book form, and the Sukthankar Memorial Edition Committee formed for this purpose with Prof. GODE as the Secretary, needs all the support that Dr. SUKTHANKAR's friends and admirers can give.

Dr. SUKTHANKAR was a Founder-Member of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, and took keen interest in the progress and activities of the Bhavan. He delivered a lecture on the *Mahābhārata* in the Bhavan Extension Series, and gave his Presidential Address at the Linguistic Section of Tirupati Conference for publication in the *Bhāratīya Vidyā*. In each of my visits to Poona, his first questions concerned the Bhavan, and Dr. Manilal PATEL, the Director. Dr. PATEL intended to bring Dr. SUKTHANKAR in close touch with the Bhavan, and the latter was to have stayed as our guest on the 22nd, but Destiny willed otherwise.

I offer my humble *praṇāmas* to the sacred memory of my revered Guru !

A. D. PUSALKER

REVIEWS

Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal by Sushil Kumar DE, M.A., D.LIT., Published by General Printers and Publishers Limited, Calcutta, 1942, Price Rs. 10/-, Roy. 8vo. pp. iv+536.

This is an important and interesting study of the early history of *Caitanyaism* " which is Vaiṣṇavism *par excellence* in Bengal ". Dr. DE, one of the leading Indologists of the day, presents us through this study a balanced exposition of the original dogmas and doctrines of Caitanyaism as recorded in the Saṁskrit and Bengali works in the spheres of Rasa-śāstra, theology and philosophy, ritualism and literature. Conscious of the difficulty of subjecting such a peculiar and living faith as Caitanyaism to the treatment of academic appraisement Dr. DE makes it clear at the outset that he is concerned merely to give a direct summary and survey of the tenets of the faith, approaching his task " not from the standpoint of a devotee, apologist or partisan of the faith, but in the spirit of historical and critical research, which aims at truth-finding but does not sacrifice sympathy and understanding ".

In the opening chapter Dr. DE discusses the beginnings of Bengali Vaiṣṇavism. Its two fudamental elements, *viz.*, the doctrine of Bhakti (emotional service of love and devotion as a means of spiritual realisation), and the Kṛṣṇa-cult, are treated in their historical setting and the position of pre-caitanya Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal is indicated. According to Dr. DE the first and most important literary record of pre-Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal is that beautiful poetical composition of Jayadeva (*circa* the end of the 12th century), the *Gīta-govinda* which, whatever its original character, later on came to be claimed by Caitanyaism as one of the sources of religious inspiration. Of late some scholars like Dinesh Chandra SEN and KENNEDY have been inclined to affiliate the Caitanya sect as a branch of the Madhvasampradāya but Dr. DE characterizes this inclination as lacking corroboration in the early records of the sect and finds strong indications that " Caitanya formally belonged to the Daśanāmī order of Śaṁkara Saṁnyāsins, even though the ultimate form which he gave to Vaiṣṇava Bhakti had nothing to do with Saṁkara's extreme Advaita-vāda ". It is then shown cogently that the Bengal sect, like other Vaiṣṇava sects, had its origin independent of the Śrīmad-Bhāgavata tradition, and that it owed a debt to the mystic emotionalism interpreted and established by a class of emotional saṁnyāsins from the time of Śrīdhara (who could not have been earlier than 1300 A.D.). Other social and religious ideas and practices of the time, such as those of Buddhism and Tāntricism, which coloured, to some extent, the inherited Vaiṣṇava tradition in Bengal, are also described so as to acquaint the reader with the conditions in the midst of which Caitanyaism was born.

Chapter II is devoted to the advent of Caitanya. The available accounts of Caitanya's life in Sanskrit and in Bengali, those by Murāri-gupta, Svarūpa Damodara, Paramānanda Kavikarṇapura, Vṛndāvanadāsa, Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja and others, are first examined in order to pick up the facts from the enveloping fancies which had their origin in the fanatical devotion of the authors. Then follows a beautiful pen-picture of the life and personality of Caitanya. The main events of his boyhood days—The birth of Viśvambhara (Caitanya's name before initiation into the monastic order) at Navadvīpa, his early education under Viṣṇu Paṇḍita, Sudarśana and Gaṅgādāsa, the death of his father throwing the burden of the household on his young shoulders, his marriage with Lakṣmī and setting up a Sanskrit school, his extensive tour of East Bengal and the accidental death of his

young wife during his absence, his second marriage with Viṣṇupriyā,—show that the young Pandit Viśvambhara had devoted himself wholeheartedly to the things of this world. "But a great change swiftly came over the even tenour of his life and when it came it swept him off with its overwhelming force". A pilgrimage to Gayā which Viśvambhara undertook at the age of about twenty-two in order to perform his father's *śrāddha* brought him in contact with Īśvara Pūrī whom he accepted as his spiritual *guru*. The initiation began with the *daśākṣara* Kṛṣṇa-mantra, "but the sudden religious awakening in him could hardly be satisfied by such formal initiation. Of the intensity and transforming quality of his religious experience there can be no doubt. The pride of learning was humble, his love of finery, to which frequent allusions are made by his biographers, and care for personal appearance were gone; scholastic pursuits and worldly concerns lost their interest. He had seen one of those mystic visions which turn secularly minded men into God-intoxicated devotees". Viśvambhara returned home but a different man, he closed his school, incessantly shouted Kṛṣṇa's name and went frequently into mystic trances. Devout Vaiṣṇavas gathered round him in whom they found the very embodiment of their spirit of devotion. Kīrtanas were revived and stimulated, devotional meetings were held, the contagion of Bhakti spread far and wide despite the opposition of some unbelievers. Viśvambhara, now barely twenty-four, felt that he should renounce the world openly and altogether, so that he could entirely devote himself to Kṛṣṇa. Keśava Bhāratī initiated him under the name of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya, which was abbreviated and universally accepted as Caitanya. Among the subsequent incidents in the life of Caitanya the more remarkable are: (i) his sojourn at Puri during which the famous Vedantist Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma was converted and the then ruler of Orissa, Gajapati Pratāparudra, came under Caitanya's influence; (ii) his extensive pilgrimage in Southern and Western India; (iii) a series of annual pilgrimages to Puri organised by his Bengal disciples to pay their homage to Caitanya; (iv) the recovery of the sacred sites of Vṛndāvana; (v) Caitanya's meeting at Rāmakeli with Sāker Malik (Sanātana) and Dabir Khās (Rūpa) who, being enthralled by Caitanya's deep religiosity, renounced wealth and worldly eminence, became his disciples and produced under his inspiration works which have ever since formed the most authoritative foundations of the cult. From the thirtieth year of his life Caitanya spent the remaining eighteen years at Puri which were increasingly characterised by prolonged emotional experiences of religious ecstacies and constant fits of *premonmāda*, culminating in the break-down of his physical frame under the tremendous strain of the most extraordinary emotionalism.

Notwithstanding some noteworthy conversions achieved through his outstanding religious personality Caitanya did not make any conscious attempt at proselytizing. The later development of the sect and cult was due to the efforts of his disciples and associates. The credit of working out and determining the doctrinal trend of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism goes to the so-called six Gosvāmins of Vṛndāvana whose works are summarised and studied in Chapter III.

The next two chapters are extremely important for the student of comparative religion since they respectively deal with the devotional sentiments (*rasa-śāstra*) and with the theology and philosophy of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism. In a deep and sympathetic study of *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* and its supplement, *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi*, Dr. De shows in a lucid manner how the religious sentiment of Bhakti has been approximated to *Rasa* (supreme relish of literary enjoyment) of orthodox Sanskrit Poetics, giving thereby a new turn not only to the old Rasa-theory of conventional Poetics but also to the religious emotion underlying the older Vaiṣṇava faith. It is rightly emphasised by Dr. De that to the followers of the sect the *Vṛndāvana-līlā* is not a mere symbol of divine allegory, but a literal fact of religious history. For an exposition of the theological and philosophical presuppositions of the school

Dr. DE confines himself to Sanātana's *Bṛhad-bhāgavatāmṛta*, Rūpa's *Saṁkṣepa-bhāgavatāmṛta* and Jīva's *Śrīkṛṣṇa-saṁdarbha* and maintains an attitude of descriptive objectivity whilst giving us an account of the subject. It is not possible here to indicate the profoundness, penetration, and clarity of thought brought by Dr. DE to bear on his task of exposition. No student of comparative religion, philosophy, mysticism, or history of religion should miss this magnificent study by our author.

Other subjects discussed in the work, besides those mentioned above, are Caitanya worship as a cult; its ritualism, devotional practices and ethics; and a scholarly appreciation of the literary works of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism.

These lines give but a bald summary of the contents of the book under review. All the brilliant qualities of scholarship, sympathy and scientific precision, which characterize Dr. DE's earlier works, shine here with increasing lustre. Thanks of all who are interested in Indian religion and philosophy are due to Dr. DE for this thought-provoking study of Caitanyaism. It may well stimulate similar scholarly treatment of other religious sects and cults in our country.

MANILAL PATEL

Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki (in its North-Western Recension): *Sundara-Kāṇḍa*. Edited by Vishva-Bandhu SHASTRI. D. A-V. College Sanskrit Series, No. 18. Lahore, 1940. Pages 106+648. Price Rs. 7-8-0.

More than twenty years have elapsed since the work of the critical editions of the texts of the two Indian epics was undertaken by Indian scholars: the *Mahābhārata* by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona, and the *Rāmāyaṇa* (North-Western Recension) by the Dayananda Anglo-Vedic College of Lahore. In December, 1921, Pandit Ram LABHAYA of the Research Department, D. A-V. College came across two MSS. of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* in a town in the south-east Punjab, which presented substantial divergences with the texts of the *Rāmāyaṇa* available in print, designated "B" and "C" by Dr. JACOBI. About 200 codices of the different kāṇḍas of the *Rāmāyaṇa* were secured from N-W India, and about a dozen MSS. were finally utilized in the Lahore Edition. Pandit Ram LABHAYA edited the *Ayodhyā-Kāṇḍa*, which was finally published in 1928. Pandit Bhagavad DATTA brought out the *Bāla-Kāṇḍa* in 1931. Later on, Prof. Vishva-Bandhu SHASTRI took charge of the Department, and issued the *Araṇya-Kāṇḍa* in 1935, followed by the *Kiṣkindhā-Kāṇḍa* the next year. In reviewing the last publication, Dr. DE rightly drew attention to the facts that some MSS. were mischcodices and no attempt was made to evaluate them, that the edition was eclectic on no recognizable critical principles, that it was doubtful whether all MSS. belonged to the N-W, and that there was no attempt to make a comparative study with the South-Indian and the Bengal recensions (*OLD*, May, 1939). The book under review, published in 1940, edited by Prof. Vishva-Bandhu SHASTRI shows the editor's reactions to Dr. DE's criticism, and in view of the criticism, contains a valuable introduction giving detailed text-critical particulars about basic MSS., their comparative valuation, indication of editoral technique, etc.

The description of basic MSS. gives a detailed account of 10 basic MSS. employed in the edition. All MSS. are in northern Devanāgarī and the substance is paper. According to the editor, all MSS. embody what may be described a unitary textual tradition as most of the text offers quite a uniform reading. The range of variations in different MSS is too limited for the postulation of two versions, a longer one and a shorter one. The MSS., however, fall into two groups, अ, फ and ब forming the first group, and the remaining seven, the second. From its respect-

able age (A.D. 1589) and intrinsic merit, MS. अ was selected for being initially copied out for collation from the remaining 9 MSS.

In indicating the editorial technique followed in text reconstruction, Prof. Vishva-Bandhu SHASTRI states that in some cases, the reconstituted text would be an augmentation in some MSS., and by way of illustration, justifies the inclusion of certain Ślokas not found in some MSS. Considerations of the strength of MS support and contextual consistency have weighed with the editor in including passages which are not found in the other recensions or in some MSS. of this recension, and in excluding others, though read by some MSS. The process of emendation has been very sparingly used, and similar to the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* interpretation gets precedence over emendation. The editor rightly observes that the epics have their own standard of grammar, syntax and sandhi. Considerations of old age, textual shortness and scriptorial neatness, though helpful in a general way, cannot absolve the editor from his primary responsibility to adjudge every individual case of textual variation on its own merits. In short, the principle of judicious eclecticism has been adopted by the editor. Prof Vishva-Bandhu SHASTRI has demonstrated the practical application of these principles by specifically discussing some readings, where he has shown by concrete instances, what particular types of evidence,—grammar, syntax, rhetorics, prosody, support of MSS, etc., jointly or severally—weighed with him in adopting a particular reading in preference to others.

In order to establish a separate N-W recension, the editor has shown, with regard to the *Sundara-Kāṇḍa*, that all the three recensions (Bengal, South and N-W) begin and end their *Sundara-Kāṇḍa* quite differently. The Southern recension of the *Sundara-Kāṇḍa* is the shortest from the point of topical extent; for as compared with the Bengal recension which has 94 cantos and the N-W, which has 100, the Southern recension has only 68 cantos. Prof. Vishva-Bandhu SHASTRI further tries to show that though the N-W is thus the most extensive, it is not a mere confused admixture of the other two traditions; since on actual calculation, it is found that about 31% of the N-W text is foreign to the Bengal text, and about 28% to the Southern text, and a little over 13% is entirely its own. As additional testimonia in support of his thesis of a separate recension, Prof. SHASTRI has shown that Kṣemendra's *Rāmāyaṇa-Mañjarī* contains many topics which occur only in the N-W text and are missing in the other texts, and Mammaṭa in his *Kāvyaprakāśa* reads a verse found in the N-W, but unknown to the other recensions.

In connection with the recensions of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Dr. RUBEN in his *Studien zur Text geschichte des Rāmāyaṇa*, after mentioning that the scheme of recensions and principles of text-history are the same in both the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, divides the *Rāmāyaṇa* MSS. into two recensions, North and South, each of which is again subdivided into two versions, the former comprising the North-West and the North-East versions, and the latter, the version of the Amṛtakatakaṭīkā and that of the commentary of Rāmānuja. Unlike the *Mahābhārata*, however, this grouping of the versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is regional in one case and based on commentaries in the other. Dr. RUBEN does not grant the status of a recension to the N-W text, but accepts it only as a version of the Northern recension. It may further be noted that Prof. SHASTRI has not discussed the exact relation of the augmentations and conflations in the N-W text with the other texts, he has merely indicated the additional matter which the N-W recension contains over and above the portion that is common to all the three recensions. The critical valuation of these passages should have been dealt with in the introduction.

The editor states that "the proper function of a recensional edition must remain within the textual orbit of a particular recension". But in view of the similarity of conditions governing the growth of the epic texts, the observations of Dr. SUKTHANKAR regarding the publication of a recensional text of the *Mahā-*

bhārata apply to the recensional text of the *Rāmāyaṇa* also. Such recensional critical editions include much secondary matter which is hard to detect unless the evidence of all extant MSS. of the different recensions is taken into account.

This edition gives a complete recensional collation of every stanza, the left-hand margin being used for the N-E. recension and the right-hand one for the S. recension. The word "N" shows the partial or total non-existence of the stanza in the N-E. or S. recension as the case may be. Such editorial work demands a thorough acquaintance with the entire MS. material, text history of the epic and the technique of text-criticism as applied to Indian conditions besides philological acumen and critical judgment. It also requires tremendous energy, patience and perseverence. We are glad to state that Prof. Vishva-Bandhu SHASTRI has acquitted himself quite creditably.

The printing and get-up are good, and the price is moderate. It is to be hoped that the work gets generous financial support so as to enable the editor to bring out the further parts without delay.

A. D. PUSALKER.

The Early Aryans in Gujarāta by Shri K. M. MUNSHI, B.A., LL.B., published in the *Thakkar Vassanji Madhavji Lectures Series* by the University of Bombay, 1941.

Purānic research in the last thirty years is greatly indebted to PARGITAR'S study of the *Purāṇas*. But "the very able attempt made by Mr. PARGITAR to collate the diverse royal genealogies as given in the different *purāṇas* and to fix the synchronisms as found therein has been frustrated on account of the undue importance which he attached to *purānic* materials, which he called Kṣatriya tradition as contrasted with the Vedic which he called Brahmanical." This sort of distinction between the Vedic and Purāṇic literature is quite improper and fantastic. The Brahmins and they alone, are the authors of the *purāṇas*. And it is verily in conformity with the learned opinion of the orientalists when Shri MUNSHI remarks that "the *purāṇic* traditions and genealogies can yield a somewhat reliable record only if the Vedic literature is made to supply the necessary correctives." The student interested in these studies deserves to take special notice of the way in which the author utilizes the names and synchronisms found in the *mantras* of the *Ṛgveda* and *Atharvaveda* as also the statements of the *Brāhmaṇas* to test the *purāṇic* narratives.

Shri MUNSHI presents in these lectures a history of the colonization of Gujarāta by collecting the references to tribes like the Śāryātas, Bhṛgus, Haihayas, etc. in the *purāṇas* and comparing these with the corresponding Vedic references. Absence of a direct allusion to Gujarāta in the Vedic literature goes against accepting its habitation by the Aryans in that age. Shri MUNSHI however explains this silence as a result of the utter contempt in which the Vedic Aryans held the "Aryans of the Outer Band", residing in the distant parts of Aryavarta, "who fought and lived and intermarried with the Nāgas and the Dasyus." If this explanation of the author is accepted, his many deductions appear quite logical.

In the first lecture the Dāśarājña battle is shown to be the first event of historical importance and it is analysed in the light of its vedic references. The author, thenceforth, concludes that the "*Purāṇas* have indiscriminately mixed up names in order to construct fictitious family trees."

The second lecture is concerned with the Haihaya empire. The *Purāṇas* mention Śaryāti's son, Ānarta, who gave his name to Gujarāta. The author has also

discussed details of Śaryāti-Cyavana episode and the relations of the Bhṛgus with Gujarāta as mentioned in the *Purāṇas*

In "Paraśurāma's Conquest of Gujarāta", the author locates Māhiṣmatī, the city, which according to the Purāṇas, was founded by Arjuna Kārtavīrya and situated on the banks of the Narmadā, right up where the tidal waves of the sea reach—somewhere in the vicinity of Broach.

In the fourth lecture, the discussion on "The Bhṛgu-Haihava Conflict", already begun in the preceding lecture, is supplemented by quotations from the *Purāṇas*, to which again are applied the "vedic correctives."

In the last lecture—"Result of the Bhṛgu-Haihaya Conflict", the author, after discussing the Bhārgava episodes in the *Mahābhārata* as well as the vedic references to the ancestrals of Janamejaya Parikṣita, comes to the conclusion that the Pāṇḍava-narrative of the *Mahābhārata* is "historically unreliable". This deduction, of course will not be so easily acceptable to the oriental Pundits. Dr. SUKTHANKAR, the author himself admits, has collected a volume of material and has "come to the conclusion that the *Mahābhārata* is a Bhṛgu epic and that therefore a background of Bhṛgu exploits and traditions has been introduced into the history of the Pāṇḍavas."

The historicity of the *Mahābhārata* is a moot problem, inviting the attention of learned scholars; but students of the *purāṇas*, I hope and think, will whole-heartedly support Shri MUNSHI'S view that the conflict started since the time of Vaśiṣṭha Viśvāmitra and continued for long between the Bhṛgus and the Haihayas performed the most important function of absorbing the tract of land to the north of the Narmadā—Gujarāta—in Aryavarta thus bringing about its Aryanization, political and cultural.

These lectures are a very valuable contribution to Ancient Indian History. Among the varied preoccupations, it is interesting to know, Shri MUNSHI finds time for such thought-provoking research activity.

We congratulate Shri MUNSHI for such an illuminating treatise.

D. K. SHASTRI.

The Number of Rasas by Dr. V. RAGHAVAN, MA., PH.D. Foreword by Prof. M. HIRIYANNA, M.A. Published by the Adyar Library, Adyar (1940), pp. xxiv + 192.

Some Concepts of The Alaṁkāra Śāstra by Dr. V. RAGHAVAN M.A., PH.D. The Adyar Library, Adyar (1942), pp. xxx + 312. Price Rs. 4.

These two works from the pen of Dr. RAGHAVAN are valuable contributions to the subject of Literary Criticism. The worth of these works is enhanced by the vast material which the author has collected with great pains not only from published works but also from unpublished manuscripts.

Like nearly every other problem of Ancient Indian Literature the subject of *Rasas* is a matter of controversy and the author has in a brief historical survey shown that various schools accept from one to nine *Rasas*. However, the theory that the *rasas* are eight in number was the one widely accepted and the works of Kālidāsa and Daṇḍin as well as the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata support the same thing. Dr. RAGHAVAN has convincingly proved as interpolations the passages in Bharata that speak of *Śānta* as the ninth *rasa*. The first among the writers on poetics to recognize this *rasa* as the ninth was Udbhaṭa, after it had acquired a place in the works of the Buddhist and Jain literateurs like Aśvaghoṣa and the author of the

Anuyogadvāra Sūtra, though it may be noted, the *Nāṭyaśāstra* had supplied all the ideas related to the *śānta* "for the necessary theoretical formulation." The author also deals with various aspects of all the *rasas* in general and of *śānta* in particular. In the end, however, he puts an end to all quarrel about the number of *rasas* by stating that "Rasa, as such, the ineffable bliss, is one. Rasa is Rasa. It has no other name."

The popularity which Dr. RAGHAVAN secured through his *Number of Rasas* in the scholarly world made "the editor hasten"—as he himself admits in the Foreword—"with the work of bringing out this second publication"—*Some Concepts of the Alaṁkāraśāstra*. The contents of this volume supplement the author's studies in his book on *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*. The several concepts of *Alaṁkāra Śāstra* that are treated here give their respective historical background with not a single important detail missing. The same masterly handling of the subject, and deep study that characterized his first work are visible here also. A large field of study is thus thrown open to scholars in the hitherto unexplored regions of Indian Aesthetics.

Our thanks are due to the author and to the publishers as well, who within so short a time of two years gave us these two valuable works on the subject of Indian Literary Criticism.

SUSHILA MEHTA.

Vedāntaparibhāṣā of Dharmarājādhvarīndra edited by Prof. S. S. Suryanarayana SASTRI, Adyar Library, Madras, 1942, Demy 8vo, pp. xl + 218, Price Rs. 2-12.

The Vedāntaparibhāṣā is a standard treatise on Advaita epistemology and ontology, widely used as a beginners' text-book in sāstric studies, for a long time past. Now published in the Adyar Library series with English translation and critical notes it will be of immense benefit to students of the M.A. and other university classes who have not got sufficient training in the orthodox systems of study to master this rather tough work. In the introduction the learned editor, the sad tidings of whose passing away has been recently received, besides identifying the author and giving a survey of the different editions so far published of this work explains that the book, as a whole is based more on the avaccheda vāda of the Vivaraṇa school than on the anirvacanīya khyāti of the Bhāmatī prasthāna which he personally prefers. The English translation which is appended to the text is a very accurate and lucid rendering of the original and with one or two exceptions e.g. *Pañcamī* : fifth case, where the accepted terms might sound happier, the translation is most correct and precise even in the handling of the most difficult terminologies and abstract ideas. But by far the most valuable part of the book is the Notes where the editor gives sound criticisms based on the texts, western philosophy and even the data of modern scientists. The greatest drawback of our texts is that they have no comparative outlook, that they are often divorced from the observations of actual life. The Notes try to supply this deficiency. His criticism of the theory of prāpyakāritva, syllogistic reasoning, padaśakti, lakṣaṇā and jīvanmukti are among others very masterly and he very often does not hesitate to comment adversely on the accepted views of the advaitin. The publishers are to be congratulated on this fine addition to the celebrated Adyar Library Series.

—P. H. RAMAN.

NOTES OF THE BHAVAN

[In this section a connected account of the activities of the various Departments of the BHAVAN will be given in each issue of the Journal.—ED.]

EIGHTH SESSION

The BHAVAN began this session on the 15th June, 1942. On the 1st July we had to vacate our new buildings at Andheri as they were requisitioned by the Government of India. The BHAVAN has been shifted to Piramal House on Worli Seaface and though this residential bungalow is lacking in the conveniences we were having in our own premises which were built to meet the requirements of an Institute of research and study, we have continued to extend our activities.

A course for Pracārakas of Āryadharma has been organised and regular classes are being conducted. For the first time we have admitted lady-students and undergraduates to our Students' Home and three ladies and three undergraduates have availed themselves of this facility. All-India Essay Competitions on aspects of Bhāratīya Saṁskṛti have been organised and one gold medal and four silver medals have been instituted for the purpose. Another new feature is 'Bhāratīya Vidyā Talks'. These are informal discussions on any aspect of Bhāratīya Saṁskṛti conducted every Saturday evening. A new monthly bulletin in Hindi containing papers on various aspects of Indian culture and literary news and views, has been started, under the editorship of our President, Shri K. M. MUNSHI. It has a good response from the press and the public. Despite the high price of paper the *Bhāratīya Vidyā Studies*, a new series, devoted to the publication of handy volumes dealing with various aspects of Indian Culture written in popular style, has been started and two books, (i) *Bhāsa* by Dr. A. D. PUSALKER and (ii) *The Schools of Vedānta* by Shri P. Nagaraja RAO, are expected to be out shortly. Several leading scholars have agreed to contribute to this series and twelve more works are under preparation. The BHAVAN also proposes to start a similar series in Gujarātī and two works, (i) Hindu Dharma, and (ii) Dharmonu Milan, both translations into Gujarati by Shri Chandrashanker P. SHUKLA from Sir S. RADHAKRISHNA'S works, are under preparation. Of the *Bhāratīya Vidyā Series*, (i) Sandeśarāsaka (an Apabhraṁśa poem) edited by Muni Shri JINAVIJAYAJI, (ii) *Riṣṭasamuccaya*, a Prakrit work on omens edited by Prof. A. S. GOPANI, and (iii) *Uktivyaktiprakaraṇa*, edited by Muni Shri JINAVIJAYAJI are expected to be out shortly. Further volumes are in the press.

The BHAVAN, in co-operation with the GUJARATI SAHITYA PARISHAD, is celebrating the millennium of the reign of Mulraj Solanki the founder of Gujarat. The most important part of the celebrations is the publication of a commemoration volume dealing with the History of Gujarat up to 300 A.D. Under the general editorship of our President,, Shri K. M. MUNSHI our staff members are preparing the volume with the collaboration of some scholars from outside also. It is expected to be published shortly. (For details see cover page 4.)

During the current season the following new appointments were made :

1. Shri Chandrashanker P. SHUKLA : Head of the Publication Department.
2. Shri P. H. RAMAN, B.A. (Hons.), Vedanta Bhushana : Assistant Secretary.
3. Shri G. V. JOSHI, Acharya : Pandit for the Pathashala Department.
4. Shri Manilal G. DESAI : Accountant-clerk.

The undermentioned were appointed as research scholars in the subjects mentioned against their names :

1. Shri Jayantilal M. SHAH, B.A. (Hons.)—Sanskrit.
2. Shri Rasiklal B. SHUKLA, M.A.—Ancient Indian Culture.
3. Shri Gajanan N. DIKE, B.A. (Hons.)—Sanskrit.
4. Shrimati Kalpalata K. MUNSHI, B.A. (Hons.)—Sanskrit.
5. Shrimati Satyavati J. JHAVERI, B.A. (Hons.)—Gujarati.

The University of Bombay has recognised three more members of the BHAVAN's staff as University teachers for the M.A. degree : (*i*) Dr. A. D. PUSALKER, M.A., LL.B., PH.D., in Sanskrit, (*ii*) Prof. A. S. GOPANI, M.A., in Ardhamāgadhī, and (*iii*) Prof. S. D. GYANI, M.A., in Ancient Indian Culture. These along with Dr. Manilal PATEL and Shri Harilal G. PANDYA, M.A., are conducting Post-Graduate classes at the Bombay centre.

Due to the disturbed conditions in the country only one extension lecture could be arranged during this session. Shri DURGASHANKER K. SHASTRI spoke on "Jivanmukti" on the occasion.

INDIAN CULTURE ESSAY COMPETITION

THE BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN invites original essays on any aspect of Bharatiya Samskriti (Indian Culture) written in Sanskrit, Hindi or English for the annual Essay Competitions which have been started from last year. This year six gold medals (each of the value of Rs. 150) and six silver medals (each of the value of Rs. 25) have been donated for the purpose. One gold medal and one silver medal will be awarded to the best and second best essays respectively received under each of the groups mentioned below. The branches of study given below in brackets are neither exhaustive divisions of the groups nor topics for essays in themselves, but are intended only to give a general idea of each group to a layman.

(1) Religion & Philosophy (Buddhistic, Jaina ; Nyaya-Vaiseshika, Samkhya-Yoga, Vedanta, Mimamsa, Vyakarana etc.)

(2) Art and Architecture (Brahmanical, Buddhist, Jaina etc.)

(3) Languages, Literature (Samskrita, Prakrita, Apabhramsha, Modern Indian Vernaculars, Dravidian etc.), Linguistics and Literary Criticism.

(4) History (Political).

(5) Social and Economic order.

(6) One gold and one silver medal have been specially donated for the best and next best essays on 'Bhagavad Gita and Life'.

CONDITIONS

1. The essays must be submitted by the end of July 1944.
2. Each essay must cover approximately 150 pages of foolscap sheets typed in double spacing (single side only).
3. The copyright of the gold medal essays will vest in the Bhavan subject to minor privileges to the authors.
4. The manuscript which should have temporary binding must bear the nom-de-plume of the contributor on the cover page and strict care should be taken to avoid disclosing the identity of the contributor. A sealed envelope containing a card with the name and full address of the competitor as well as his nom-de-plume and bearing the nom-de-plume alone on the outside should be sent along with the essay.
5. Each contributor is allowed to choose the subject he prefers.
6. The decision of the judges selected by the Bhavan will be final.
7. Though every care will be taken of the Mss. no responsibility attaches to the Bhavan in respect of them and authors are advised to keep duplicate copies with them.

Director,
BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN,
33-35, Harvey Road, Bombay 7

[P. T. O.]

DETAILS REGARDING 1943 ESSAY COMPETITIONS

Name of Prize-winner	Medal	Name of Essay	Remarks
Dr. A. D. PUSALKER (Bombay)	Gold	Indus Valley Civilization.	In the press
Shri P. NAGARAJA RAO (Benares Hindu University)	Silver	The Schools of Vedanta.	Published.
Shri T. K. SHIBRURKAR (Benares)	Silver	Constructive Activities & Creative Tendencies of Indian Culture.	
Shri V. LAKSHMINARAYANA (Guntur)	Silver	Some aspects of Ancient Indian Culture as reflected in Kalidas's works.	
Shri N. M. BILLIMORIA (Karachi)	Silver	Panis in the Rig Veda & the Script of Mohenjo Daro and Easter Island.	

Judges :

1. Shri N. C. Mehta, B.A. (Cantab.), Bat-at-Law, I.C.S., Simla.
2. Mm. Anantakrishna Sastri of the Calcutta University.
3. Prof. H. D. Velankar, M.A., of Wilson College, Bombay.

BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN invites applications from students for admission in the Bhavan as (i) Research Fellows for Ph.D., and M.Ed., (ii) Post-graduate Scholars for M.A., in Sanskrit, Ardhamagadhi, Gujarati, Ancient Indian Culture and Education and (iii) free students for Shastric studies and Oriental Title Examinations. A few undergraduates may also be admitted provided they want to specialise in Sanskrit. Non-residential students for post-graduate studies are also admitted. Research Fellowships are of the value of Rs. 50/- (or Rs. 30/ and free boarding and lodging) and Research Scholarships of Rs. 15/- and free boarding and lodging. For further details and application forms write to the Registrar, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 33-35, Harvey Road, Bombay-7 enclosing stamps for two annas. Applications must reach the Registrar before the 15th June, 1944.

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Uktivyaktiprakaraṇa	Grammatical work in Sanskrit dealing with Eastern Apabhramsa dialects	Pandit Damodar	do.
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Śṛṅgāramañjarī	Unique Sanskrit kathā	Paramāra Bhojadevarāja	do.
Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra	Fragmentary work	Yoggham	do.
Vinayasūtra	Buddhist Sanskrit text of Sarvāstivāda school	Guṇaprabha	Shri Rahul Sankrityayana
Candralekhāsaṭṭaka	Drama in Prakrit	Rudrādāsa	Dr. A. N. Upadhye
Līlāvatīkahā	Prakrit poem	Bhūṣaṇabhaṭṭa	do.
Arthavādādivicāra	Mīmāmsa text of Prābhākara school	Kṣīrasamudravāsimiśra	Acharya T. A. Venkateswara Dikshitar
Riṣṭasamuccaya	Prakrit work on omens	Durgadeva	Prof. A.S. Gopani

(b) Bharatiya Vidya Studies.

भारतीय सम्स्कृति	Hindi work on Hindu culture	Prof. S. D. Gyani.

(c) Bharatiya Vidya Memoirs.

The Glory that was Gūrjaradeśa, Part III	History of Gujarat.	Shri K. M. Munshi

Continued on next page.

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(1) To promote, organise and co-ordinate research in all branches of knowledge with reference to Gujarat. The word Gujarat includes Kathiawar, Cutch, and outlying areas.

(2) To collect and publish accurate information on all subjects relating to Gujarat, Kathiawar and Cutch.

(3) To foster the cultural unity of all communities speaking Gujarati.

(4) To train, advise and help qualified students in methods of research.

(5) To collect books, manuscripts, and similar objects, and arrange for facilities for research by establishing libraries, museums, laboratories, art galleries, etc.

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SHETH MEGHJI MATHURADAS TOPRANI

Born April 13, 1889 *Died June 17, 1943*

SHETH MEGHJIBHAI—A TRIBUTE

By

Shri K. M. MUNSHI

SHETH MEGHJIBHAI MATHURADAS TOPRANI was one of the dearest friends of mine. He died on June 17, 1943. He was one of the ardent supporters of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. The Bhavan has decided to perpetuate his memory by building an Arts College and it is but fitting that I should contribute a character sketch of this, one of the finest men I came across.

He was born on April 13, 1889 to Sheth Mathuradas TOPRANI, a leading Bhatia merchant of Cutch Mandvi. But in 1891 the steamer 'Bijli' sank, and the fortune of Sheth Mathuradas sank with it. He came to Bombay in search of fresh business.

Fortune, however, did not smile on Sheth Mathuradas. When MEGHJIBHAI was about twelve, he died, leaving him surviving his minor sons and a daughter. The bleak prospect of poverty faced the mother and the sons.

MEGHJIBHAI's mother was a great woman. She struggled hard to educate her sons. And when four years later he passed his matriculation examination he sought service at Rs. 25/- per month in the Bombay United Mills, which belonged to the well-known industrialist of Bombay, Sheth Mulraj Khatau. MEGHJIBHAI used to tell many stories of his early struggles with poverty. But he was nothing, if not thorough. He worked hard, long, ceaselessly and became the greatest practical expert in India of dyeing and bleaching. Due to his skill his mills earned a Gold Medal in dyeing and bleaching at an exhibition of textile mills in Bombay in 1910. Slowly, he rose to be the head of the Dyeing and Bleaching Department of the mills.

For ten years he worked. His income was meagre. He supplemented it by preparing finishing glazes and snows and other preparations and selling them. In 1916 he left the Bombay United Mills for the Indore Malwa Mills, but till the end, to him the Khataus were his "masters". It was difficult to beat MEGHJIBHAI at loyalty.

He was with Indore Malwa Mills for a couple of years. He left them in 1918 and started a small dyeing factory at Sewree. On this little factory he concentrated his energy, and his uncanny powers of methodical organisation. He worked at it with his hands, with his brain, with his soul. In 1926 he transferred it to Lalbaug where still this Bombay Union Dyeing Mills, stands now one of the biggest factories of this kind, if not the biggest in India. But it is not a capitalist factory. It is a domestic industry. He and his large family live on the premises. Every spare minute he spent in it. At night he personally went to have a last look and closed the gates before he went to sleep.

The hum and thud of the factory were his life's breath. Its vibrations brought my nerves on an edge when I visited him. I told him he was growing deaf by living in the midst of this house. He laughed. It was the music of the spheres for him. He said he felt uncomfortable when the factory was closed and when there were no vibrations. He died to this music.

MEGHJIBHAI wanted not to soar beyond the life of a manual worker. No detail of his factory escaped him. There was no place for luxury in his personal life. With the lowliest worker, he would lie on the ground to see that a bolt or a nut required replacement. His un-ironed half-coat and his rough dhoti never underwent a change with growing riches. He enjoyed the fun of people taking him as his own clerk. A costly lot of machinery though advertised for sale for about a few lakhs remained unsold as some important parts were missing and irreplaceable. MEGHJIBHAI wanted to buy it, make the missing parts and use it to advantage. MEGHJIBHAI walked into the office of the big boss of the importing firm. The big boss first wanted to shake MEGHJIBHAI off. But you simply cannot shake him off, when he was bent on a mission. The big boss in a 'temper' asked, 'can your master pay the price?'

"How much do you want? Go and ask the Banks. My master can pay twice your price."

The boss went out, inquired of the Banks and returned with due humility.

'Tell your master that I will take lakh—thousands.'

"Send your machinery straightaway. My master has sent a blank cheque which I will fill in."

The boss was taken aback. He took the cheque, passed a receipt and gave orders for giving delivery.

"Well, tell your Sheth", said the boss, "to come in and look me up sometime. I would like to meet him". Humorist to the last, MEGHJIBHAI said, "I will give the message to my master". And till his death, he loved to tell this story.

In 1930 we first met each other. In November-December of that year I was one of those who were in charge of the Civil Disobedience Movement in Bombay. This brave man stood by us as few I have seen standing. His help ran into five figures almost every month.

Then we became friends. I appeared for him in some law suits. But since he became a co-trustee of Kabibai and Kanji Khetsey Trusts with me he became my mainstay in many activities with which I was connected.

I was counsel for the Advocate General in 1929 in a suit to administer the Kabibai Charities. Sir Jamshedji Kanga (then Mr.) the Advocate General insisted on my becoming a trustee and so did Sir Chimanlal Setalvad counsel on the other side. We drew up the scheme for a public school for Hindus in the suburbs of Bombay. Sir Chunilal V. Mehta was the chairman of the trustees till 1937. Dewan Bahadur K. M. Jhaveri has been chairman thereafter. In 1937 we appointed MEGHJIBHAI as a trustee. He threw himself heart and soul in the building up of the school which is now the Hansraj

Morarji Public School. Once MEGHJIBHAI was there we were immune from all worries. He saw to construction work, which he knew better than most engineers, to organisation, accounts and supplies. He knew how to get things done for less cost and with better results. His men, materials and equipments were at the disposal of the Trust and he never charged for them.

We next took him as a trustee for the Kanji Khetsey Trust. When in 1938 I founded the Bhavan, I brought him in. I told him 'where I am there you also must be'. This sense of identity between us was maintained throughout. He it was, who got the Bhavan building built at Andheri. We planned 'Nava Gujarat' at Andheri, on our frequent visits. Here would be a hostel : there an Arts College, there again a ladies' hostel and there a library and temple. In all my educational schemes when I wanted funds so far God has so willed it that I would get them. But I had a lurking confidence that if other friends failed me there was one who would play the Providence for the mere asking.

To whatever philanthropic cause he applied his mind he was the same. He undertook the trusteeship of Sheth Jadavji Jethabhai Charities, Sheth Jadavji Kara Trust and Sheth Mungalal Goenka Sanskrit Trust. He was great at building and maintaining properties. The Hansraj Morarji Public School, the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan at Andheri, and the Jadavji Jethabhai Dharmashala at Pandharpur are monuments of his skill and selflessness. His Highness the Maharaja of Jamnagar entrusted him with the work of constructing the Ayurvedic College and Hospital at Jamnagar but he did not live long enough to see it completed. His generosity literally knew no bounds. He paid for medical relief, particularly for homeopathy. He paid Rs. 25,000/- for the Zandu Ayurvedic Hospital. He created a charity trust, known as MEGHJI MATHURADAS CHARITY TRUST of Rs. 3,50,000 for charity, cheap rent tenements, medical relief and education. But these are his known charities. His unknown ones were equally large and ceaseless. None who went to him for help ever returned empty-handed whatever his caste or creed. He helped poor widows. He sometimes put me in funds for some charitable causes with the strict injunction that his name should remain unknown. Well and truly could it be said of him that he treated himself as a trustee of whatever he had made.

From 1938, it was a part of the Bhavan programme to have an Arts College. Of course, as usual, we had no money ; but we more than once negotiated for the Khalsa College. When my wife and I were in jail, of his own accord he went with my daughter Sarala (now Mrs. Sheth) with an offer to purchase it. The bargain could not be struck. When he wrote to me about it, I wrote back to say we had no money. He replied by a query 'Since when had I become such a miser ?'

When I came out of jail in 1941, we often discussed the question of the Arts College and its location. During his last illness, when the power of speech and hearing were denied to him, he wrote on a slate and gave it to my wife.—"If I survive, there will be an Arts College." The Bhavan has,

therefore, rightly decided to raise funds for an Arts College in his memory. It will be the first Arts College with which the name of a Gujarati will be associated in Bombay and its suburbs.

Our personal relations were of the most brotherly kind. He called me an elder brother, Sarala he called his own daughter. His house was a parent's home for her. When my wife and I were in jail, he looked after my children like his own. That was MEGHJIBHAI's speciality. Any family which he adopted as his own, was his for giving ungrudging help and guidance. He has brought up his deceased brother's son as his own. He looked after his wards as his own children. He loved to be a younger brother to me and if he felt that I did not treat him as such, he would descend upon me with a solemn protest.

He has brought up his family after his own tradition. His grown-up sons Charandas and Dwarkadas are as keen, generous and obliging as the father. His four other little sons, I have no doubt, will grow up as he would have liked to see. He leaves two daughters. His widow is the soul of patience and sweetness. And for every one of them MEGHJIBHAI has provided with meticulous solicitude and characteristic generosity.

The personal loss to me is boundless. In losing him I have not only lost a beloved brother, but more, a part of my self which made my public activities more efficient and thorough than they will ever be hereafter.

BHĀRATĪYA VIDYĀ



Vol. IV, Part II - - - May 1943

SOME ANCIENT CIVILIZATIONS OF THE WORLD*

By

B. J. WADIA, M.A., LL.B., BAR-AT-LAW.

SOME historians have been so much struck by the fact that men all over the world have gone through very much the same early phases, learning the use of fire, shaping their stone weapons and tools called Flints, planting and harvesting grain, discovering how to spin and weave, that they hold the theory that human civilization came to birth in one land only, probably Egypt, and that human progress spread thereafter in other lands like the ripples from a pebble flung into a pond of water. Whether it is a correct theory or not, civilization in any country of the world is first and foremost a social process. The process has a slow growth ; it is not one of continual advancement ; but it has a vital connection with the original cultural impulses which lie buried in the dim past. Once upon a time, man began. When ? People have been asking this question for hundreds of years. I do not think we shall ever find the answer. Who was the genius who discovered fire ? He was perhaps the world's greatest discoverer, but we know nothing about him either. We can only guess at the beginnings of man, for the written records of Egypt take us back to about 3,000 B.C.

Egypt, according to our present belief, saw the birth of man's first great civilization, unless Mohenjo-Daro, in the valley of the Indus, proves an

* Adapted from a speech delivered at the Bhavan on 1st July 1943.

earlier claim for India. Egypt, according to Heredotus, is the gift of the River Nile. Not only did the river create the land, but it showed the people who came to live there how to irrigate the soil and make it fertile. The rise and fall of the river in relation to the changes in the moon helped them to invent the Calendar, one of the principal aids to civilization. How the history of Egypt became an open book for the modern world is a romantic story, a story which hinges not only on the invention of the Calendar but also on the invention of writing which first took the form of small pictures.

The ancient Egyptians were a very religious people, and their religion was based on the belief in a creator of the heavens and the earth. So great was this god that ordinary human beings were very remote from him. The people therefore worshipped a number of lesser gods who were more in touch with the ways of men and the world. Of all the gods worshipped by them Osiris was the greatest, and it was with him that the idea of immortality, so important in the Egyptian religion, was most closely identified. Round his perplexing figure gather all the religions of Egypt. Osiris was in the first place a god of the Nile and the vegetation it fostered. When the Nile waters fell, Osiris died; with the coming of new life to the land, Osiris lived again. Thus the belief in the resurrection of the dead was born, which led to the building of magnificent tombs, and of the Pyramids which are the most imposing monuments to the Egyptian religion and also to Egyptian civilization. Egypt was a land of peace, and we owe to her the first organized state when about 3,000 B.C. the people living in the Delta and the Valley united under one king called the Pharaoh. But ideas of universal brotherhood, democracy, and constitutional government on which we write and about which we hear so much in our times were still unknown. The Egyptian institutions were made up of kings, priests, noblemen, artists, writers, architects, craftsmen and farmers. They were the first great nation of the world, but Egypt was also the least nationalistic of all the nations of the ancient world. She was content with peace and progress within her own borders. Egyptian monuments, her gods, and the tale of her glory have all passed away. The Pyramids and the Sphinx lift their lofty heads to the heavens, and are silent. But on the walls in the palaces and on the monuments there is eloquent testimony to her ancient civilization. She did much to teach the world to write, to make a calendar, to calculate, to plough and sow, to work in metal, to build in stone, and to make people believe that this life is not all. Such is the picture of the background of Egyptian civilization.

I do not wish to traverse over other ancient civilizations—the Phœnician, the Minovan, the Chaldean, the Assyrian, the Persian and the Ethiopian. As a kingdom Ethiopia—our modern Abyssinia—traces its royal lineage back to the Queen of Sheba. I will now turn to our own ancient land, India, in which, shut off from the rest of the world by a huge barrier of mountains, a civilization developed comparatively undisturbed through the centuries, from the time the ancient Aryans entered from the north, subdued the abori-

ginal inhabitants, and settled down to raise crops and build towns and villages in the plains. The India of this Aryan period is known as Vedic India, and the people spoke the Aryan language known as Vedic which later gave place to Sanskrit, a tongue allied to most of the languages of modern Europe. The Vedas are the oldest of Indian literary works, and have been the chief religious authority of the Hindus for thousands of years. The Vedic times were followed by the age of the two great epics. But none of India's institutions is stranger than her caste system. We are all ready to talk with a large vagueness about it, and to ascribe to it all India's troubles. When the system began we cannot tell, but it has age behind it. For when the Greek ambassador Megasthenes visited India as long ago as the third century before Christ, he recorded in his diary many customs based on the caste system with its rigid barriers of birth. The result was that the great factor in human civilization, the sense of man's equality and freedom, was absent from ancient India. It could not take root among people who formed themselves into exclusive groups which only became more distinct with the passage of time. This system has to a considerable extent retarded India's progress. It is really a matter of humiliation to us that there are so many of our people who dare not enter a temple of their own religion, and who cannot by any enterprise, skill, brains, diligence, thrift or culture, ever free themselves or their children from the brand of an Outcaste. It has been truly said that there are only two spots on the Indian soil where all have equal rights; the British law-court and the British hospital. In recent years the position of the depressed classes has to some extent improved. But the ghastly system of caste will take long before it is broken down. The ancient Indians were simple in their dress, unlike Europe the birthplace of fashion. The great religion which is associated with the name of Buddha knew no caste distinction. His eight-fold "Aryan Path" is a path for all men to follow to attain Nirvāṇa. In him and his great follower Aśoka ancient India has given to civilization two of its finest figures. Hindu culture enjoyed its golden age under the patronage of the cultured and tolerant Gupta kings when poetry, the drama, architecture, sculpture, and painting were developed to a remarkably high degree. The history of India has continued for nearly four thousand years and is still continuing. But she never produced in later years any greater mind than Buddha's, any finer monarch than Aśoka, nor any better art than that of the Gupta period. She has given to civilization some of its most polished and wonderful products. Ancient Indian culture is a legacy which scholars and people have faithfully preserved and fostered through the centuries.

Of all the great civilizations of the ancient world the one of whose origins we know least is also the most extensive and long-lived, the civilization of China, for the Chinese Empire comprises about a quarter of mankind. China covers an enormous area of land, but as a name, 'China' was never used by the Chinese themselves. The correct name derived from her most powerful feudal state is "Ch'in", for China conquered the other states and founded the

empire which lasted from 220 B.C. to 1911 A.D. To the civilized Chinese mind the man most deserving of honour till this day is the scholar, next to him the farmer, and thirdly, the merchant. The soldier until recently was not even counted. For many centuries the Chinese has been a lover of peace. A fine painting of a well-known landscape or the literary work of a revered scholar has always meant more to him than ingenious instruments devised for killing human beings. No wonder that India, the land of the Ṛṣis has had cultural ties with the land that has worshipped scholarship for centuries. No wonder that the victories of peace in old China were held more renowned than those of war. A profound respect for scholarship and for everything having to do with writing, which was first invented by them, is one of their most deeply rooted characteristics. What is even more they recognized no fetters of caste. They had great reverence for the family, and in the sixth century B.C. Confucius (Kung-fut-v) laid down a code of family conduct which lasted over 2000 years. The old Chinese society was founded upon filial piety. Its only defect was that women were left on a plane inferior to men. Daughters were unimportant, and wives were subordinate not only to their husbands but to the husbands' mothers. The institution of the mother-in-law in China was more than a music-hall joke, such as it is to-day in western countries. Before her the poor wife was nowhere in the picture. Still China has a future before her, and we hope that out of the present chaos a new China may rise with a culture combining the best that the West can offer with the finest elements of her ancient system.

The Greeks came to set up a great civilization, perhaps the greatest the world has known, for her intellectual and artistic glories are among the wonders of mankind. The earliest Greece emerges from a mist of legend recorded in the Homeric epics, but the latest Greece of ancient times ended with a victory over the Persians and the rise of that great prodigy, Alexander the Great, after whose death the glory that was Greece departed, and Greek civilization moved westward to Rome. It was in her old city-states that the voice of democracy was faintly heard for the first time; in Athens, Thebes, and other cities the idea that citizens ought to be allowed to arrange their own affairs was tried with success 1,800 years before Simon de Montfort invented Parliament. The system of slavery, however, counts as a black mark against Greece. Greece gave to the world great artists, great philosophers, or lovers of wisdom, and great politicians ; nevertheless they not only tolerated slavery but saw nothing very shameful in it. Moderation was the key-note of the Greek character and Greek achievement. The Greeks hated exaggeration. In the time of Pericles about 450 B.C. a poet who exaggerated was hooted down in the Theatre. "Nothing too much", was the motto inscribed on the temple of Delphi which was their national institution. Pilgrims from all over the country came to it for help and advice. Where today men take their cases to law courts, Greek disputants took their cases to Delphi, for the Greeks were deeply influenced by their priests. Their great watchword was beauty, and they trained their bodies to be the vehicles of

their finely trained spirits. Their artistic sense was supreme. Slavery was, as I have said, a black mark against her, but on the credit side was a great and proud record. Socrates, Plato and Aristotle pointed the way to Truth and Freedom, and it was Greece which assured the existence of our modern civilization. Her glory and her grandeur can never be erased from the pages of time. They stood for freedom. The old Persians stood for another ideal —tyranny. Freedom and tyranny could not survive side by side. Marathon, Thermopylae, Salamis, Plataca and Mycale are names immortal in the world's history.

In many ways, however, it is the old Roman civilization which has been the pattern for our own. Rome with its genius for central organization and rapid communication. The Roman roads, the Roman bridges, the Roman aqueducts were the forerunners of the cables, railways, air and ocean routes that link up the earth today. In the words of MACAULAY, "of all inventions, the alphabet and the Printing Press alone excepted, those inventions which bridge distances have done most for civilization". Some of the ancient Roman roads are still extant. The Romans knew how to colonise. They also knew how to establish law and order. In our ways of living, in our languages, in our thoughts, we are continually making use of Roman ideas. In two ways especially the debt that civilization owes to the Romans is more than we can calculate : in law and in government. Greece was ruled in the end by Rome, but it was the Greeks who gave Rome her culture. The Greeks stayed at home and only travelled in their minds and imaginations, with the result that their value to civilization is greater than that of the Romans. The Romans too had the system of slavery, and their slaves were trained to take part in mortal combat as a public amusement. It was to places like the Colosseum that the Roman people from the Emperor downwards crowded to see the bloody sport. The existence of the gladiator was dreadful. Though ladies flattered him and poets sang his praises, the figure of death was never far away. Compare BYRON'S lines on the dying gladiator in the last canto of *Childe Harold*. Another form of amusement which drew the crowds was the throwing of criminals, and in later times Christians, to wild animals. There were also the chariot races in the Circus Maximus, and the crowds that packed the building for these events would have found the English Derby dull. Degeneracy set in the later days of the Empire and the great empire soon crashed. Cruelty was in the Roman's blood, but the modern Europeans need not feel too virtuous about this. There have been instances in America, the Belgian Congo and other places in South Africa, of the most fantastic cruelty shown by the civilized whites in a feeling of absolute power over helpless people. But the Romans were as thorough in their administration as in their cruelty. They never complained about the white man's burden. The family was a great institution in Rome, but their great watchword was law and order on which they reared the structure of imperialism. History will for ever remember Rome as the great city of memories, of traditions and of freedom's first note.

The civilizations of Egypt and of India, were to a large extent based on religion ; that of China, on filial piety ; that of Greece was intellectual and aestheic, and that of Rome more material than spiritual, especially after the great days of the Republic were over and towards the end of the Empire. They revealed man and his world to the ages that followed. There was much in common between them all, but the caste system of India is more pernicious than the system of slavery known to Greece and Rome. Yet India has given to the world much that is of high import and value ; and, according to Prof. MAX MÜLLER, in the history of mankind India with its civilization occupies a place which is second to none. It gave the story of human civilization its spiritual background which has endured through the centuries. The societies of Egypt, Babylon, Greece and Rome have all gone their way, but the last chapter in the history of India has yet to be written.

EARLY HOME OF THE ARYANS*

By

Shri K. M. MUNSHI, B.A., LL.B.

ONE of the most important and none the less intriguing problems of history is to find out where the original Aryans developed their language and culture. The theory, in vogue with the western scholars, that the Aryans entered India possibly by way of Kashmir and came into conflict with a hostile, dark skinned, flat-nosed people whom they overcame has to be re-examined dispassionately in the light of the discoveries in the Indus Valley.

Certain words defined with little precision have been confusing in the discussion of this problem. For instance, the words Indo-European or Indo-Germanic, as applied to languages which are proved to have a common Aryan origin have often been applied to the peoples who now use them.[1]

Speaking an Indo-European language is not the same thing as being of the Aryan race; nor does it necessarily imply blood relationship with the original Aryans.[2]

The so-called Indo-European or Indo-Germanic languages are spread over a greater part of Europe, Asia and America. They contain sufficient common material to justify, by necessary implication the conclusion that many of their vocables, forms and sounds are the evolved, modified or corrupted form of one parent speech, developed by a single race, living in a segregated area. This race cannot be identified only with the occupants or the so-called invaders of India and Persia from whom the Vedic Aryans and the Indo-Iranians were descended.

The name "Aryan" as applicable to a race can only be applied to these occupants or invaders of India and Persia and their language. But their language was the parent of the great and important group of languages called Indo-European or Indo-Germanic; and consequently the word "Aryan" may more aptly be used to describe the whole of the language group.[3] To apply the word to the races who speak any branch of it is historically inaccurate. Equally inaccurate it is to claim that the original Aryans belonged to the racial group called "Nordic", a group recognised by anthropologists and characterised by fair skin, blond hair, long narrow skulls and large bones:[4] and that from their primitive tongue all the different languages of

* This paper is part of the section "The Aryans: Pre-Vedic and Vedic", from "The Glory that was Gūrjaradeśa" to be published shortly.

1 Cf. *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 66.

2 WINTERNITZ, *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, I, intr. p. 5.

3 CARLETON, *Buried Empires*, pp. 137-38.

4 CARLETON, *op. cit.*, p. 137 f.

the Indo-Germanic family are derived. There is no possible proof of this, any more than the still wilder theory which would make these imaginary blond 'Proto-Aryans' a nation of supermen, the founders of European Culture, whose 'racially pure' descendants are claimed to be the natural masters and rulers of all other peoples.

The so-called Indo-Germanic languages or Indo-European languages, or the linguistic family of the Aryan languages consist of the following branches :—[5]

(1) European i.e. Italic, the Hellenic, Celtic, Teutonic, Slavonic, Lithuanic, or Lattic and Albanian.
(2) Indic, i.e. languages derived from Saṁskṛta.
(3) Iranic, i.e. Avestan, Persian, Pushtu, Baluchi, Kurdish and Ossetic.
(4) The Armenian.
(5) The Tokharian.[6]

On a comparative study of these languages European scholars have taken the early home of the Pretero-Aryans to different countries in Asia and Europe, basing their arguments on the presence of vocables in the different languages developed from the parent Aryan language. The argument, shortly put is :—

First, that the Aryan languages in Europe do not possess vocables for Indian flora and fauna ; secondly, European flora and fauna are not represented in the vocables of Asiatic Aryan languages ; and therefore the Pretero-Aryans could not have been natives of Asia.

The argument is based on unwarranted assumption. Any comparison between the Vedic speech and any language spoken later in point of time assumes that the speakers of the later language have during the intervening period remained completely unaffected by alien speech habits and surroundings. This assumption is obviously absurd. Unless the history of each common word in the course of its migration can be traced, which is impossible, any reconstruction of a common language out of such materials is bound to lead to erroneous conclusions. For instance, the theory once accepted of the migration of Aryans on the hypothesis that the Centum group was European and the Satem was Asiatic is now exploded by the discovery of a Centum group language in Tokharistan.

Vedic Sanskrit again has the largest number of vocables found in the Aryan languages. These are preserved in the languages of the Sanskritic family in different parts of India even when there has been inter-racial compact for centuries. On the other hand if the pre-Vedic Aryan language was spoken in the different parts of Europe and Asia where the Aryans had settled before coming to India, how is it that only a few vocables are left in the present day speech of those parts, while the largest number of them is

[5] Cf. TAYLOR, *Origin of the Aryans*, p. 2.
[6] KEITH, *Bhandarkar Comm. Vol.*, p. 91 f.

found in the distant places of ultimate settlement and racial admixture in India? On the contrary this disparity can easily be explained if the pre-Vedic was the language of the homeland of Aryans and the other Aryan languages came into existence as a result of the contact between migrating Aryans and non-Aryan elements outside India and Persia.

Vocables of the Aryan speech not common to other Aryan languages of Asia and Europe are found in Vedic Sanskrit. This also points to Vedic Sanskrit as being the oldest and the most unadulterated form of Indo-Aryan speech destroying the theory that the Saptasindhu was the end of the journey.

The Vedic Aryans were not a race coming into but going out of the Saptasindhu.[7] If the *Nīlamata* on which Prof. KALLA relies embodies any record it points to the fact that at one time Kashmir was a lake and when it was drained off it was occupied by the Aryans under the name of Kaśyapa mira.[8] Kashmir was therefore colonised by migrating Aryans from the Saptasindhu. This is consistent with the expansive movement in India which is illustrated by the expanding boundaries of Brahmāvarta, Brahmarṣi-deśa, Madhyadeśa and Āryāvarta.

The Vedic literature is the earliest extant record of the Aryan mind. How is it that in the course of their journey to the Saptasindhu the Aryans left no such record elsewhere? This absence of literary record in other countries cannot be explained away by a hypothesis that the Aryans only reached a high stage of cultural evolution in India. For, if this hypothesis were correct and the Aryans had settled in India for a very long time during which they evolved a distinctive culture, the Vedic literary tradition, and the technique of preserving it, the period of immigration in India would have to be pushed back by several centuries before the Battle of Ten Kings. On the other hand the non-existence in other countries of any similar Aryan literature or culture contemporary with the Vedic can more easily be explained if the Aryans started their peregrinations from somewhere in North West of India some centuries before the Battle. The migration being only of the superfluous population of roving tribes without great cultural development, they could not impart the literary and cultural tradition to the countries in which they ultimately settled, and their previous stages of progress very much earlier. This fact would with difficulty be adjusted with the fact that the Aryan movements in Asia, Europe and Egypt can be fixed with certainty between 1700 B.C. and 2200 B.C.

Aryans, it is said, could not be the natives of India, for they cannot flourish side by side with the Dravidians. This argument presupposes

(*a*) that the Saptasindhu and the rest of India were geographically one as in Post-Vedic times;

(*b*) that Dravidian traces, both linguistic and ethnological in the Punjab, Kashmir and North-West Frontier Province and the

[7] Cf. *RV*, X. 65.11.

[8] KALLA, *Home of the Aryans*, App. A.

Indus Valley are so strong as necessarily to imply the displacement of Dravidians by the Aryans.

Both these implications are negatived by facts. The Saptasindhu and the Indus Valley as geological development shows were difficult of access from the South. There are very little ethnic traces of Dravidians in Saptasindhu at present and the Vedic Sanskrit bears little or no Dravidian influence. Whatever traces are there can be better explained by later rather than earlier contact.

The argument also ignores the important fact that race persists while language changes and that the Aryan speech is known to annihilate the non-Aryan, whenever it comes into contact. The Celts, the Slavs, the Lithuanians, the Hellenes, and the Latvians were Aryan in speech but Mongolian or Turanian in physical type.

An aspect of the same argument is that Lithuanian is archaic and therefore Lithuania is likely to be the cradle of the Aryans. But a language remains archaic even when persons using it are unprogressive; or if they remain in a locality where no fusion is possible with races speaking other languages; or if they develop a highly refined technique for preserving and using archaic forms. The Lithuanians do not fall under the last category. But the archaic form of their language can be explained by their certainly being unprogressive and situate in the farthest corner of Europe.[9] If Lithuania was the cradle of the Aryans, how is it that the Vedic Aryans after crossing a continent and a half during which they must have contacted alien speech, not only retained the archaic nature of Vedic Sanskrit but in India alone evolved not only a literature in that language but also the art of retaining its form?

The ancient Iranian language and literature are influenced by foreign elements, though they point to Vedic originals. On the other hand an analysis of the Indo-European languages indicates that one line of migration must have been from Iran to Slavo-Lithuania and to Teutonia and again another from Iran to Greece and Italy. If the home was in Europe, the Aryan words in Slavs, Lithuanians and Teutonic should have been many more than what they are found and least in the farthest place of settlement like India.

In the result the argument in favour of a European origin of Aryans based on philological reasons is scarcely conclusive

[9] DAS, *Rgvedic Culture*, pp. 177, 327.

THE ALLEGORICAL DRAMA IN SANSKRIT

By

Dr. S. K. DE, M.A., D.LITT.

ALTHOUGH one of Aśvaghoṣa fragments contains some personifications of abstract virtues as *dramatis personae*, there is yet no evidence that the allegorical drama, like the Middle English Morality, played any important part in the early evolution of Sanskrit dramatic literature. It is also not clear if the type, of which we see the rudiments perhaps in the dramatic fragment mentioned above, was actually practised, even on a small scale, before or since Aśvaghoṣa's time, thus establishing a continuous tradition. All the plays of this kind belong to a very late period, the earliest known being the *Prabodha-candrodaya* of Kṛṣṇamiśra, which belongs to the second half of the 11th century. We do not know whether Kṛṣṇamiśra was merely reviving an old tradition or himself creating the peculiar type; in any case, the credit belongs to him of attempting to produce a symbolical drama by means of purely personified abstractions, without making it differ at all in form and style from the normal drama. But it was like rowing off-stream, if not against it, up a backwater, which leads nowhere. In spite of numerous subsequent attempts, the type did not flourish well, nor did it develop into a new dramatic *genre*. Hardly any degree of literary talent or invention can long sustain the interest of an allegory; and it would be idle to expect that our dramatists could greatly succeed in a sphere where success is indeed difficult to achieve.

The attempts, however, are interesting, not only for their novelty and cleverness, but also for the peculiar spirit of allegorising which they represent. The spirit is not a naive poetic trait but a deliberate decadent trend which, in its remoteness from real life, revelled in abstract ideas and symbols. Even if the themes are sometimes childish, the plays do not belong to the childhood of the drama. They are inspired, not by a spirit of fancy and mythology, but by a tendency towards philosophical and scholastic thinking, being purposely composed to illustrate some doctrinal thesis. It is perhaps difficult to turn a dogma into a drama, but such philosophical allegories as the story of Puraṃjana[1] in the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* (iii. 25-28) might have suggested the method. The weakness, however, of this class of composition is that in taking abstract ideas as *dramatis personae*, it either gives them so much individuality that their real intention is concealed, or so little that they are dull abstractions and nothing more. Most often they are cut-and-dried labels

[1] On this story there actually exist some later allegorical plays, e.g. the *Puraṃjana-carita* of Kṛṣnadatta (Rajendralala MITRA, *Notices*, No. 2000) and the *Puraṃjana-nāṭaka* of Haridāsa (KIELHORN, *Catalogue of MSS. in Central Provinces*, No. 70).

neatly defined by reflective consciousness, logical concepts rather than natural facts, doctrinal formulas rather than live entities. The whole course of action is so clearly betrayed by the tell-tale characters that it loses all interest. Although conforming fully to the developed dramatic form and mode, the type touches the border of the real drama only when the tendency to symbolical, rather than literal, presentation prevails; but in most cases we find that it is deliberately intended to convey religious and moral edification, or to glorify pedantic scholasticism, by means of allegorical action and characterisation. In this respect, the Sanskrit allegorical drama of a more self-conscious epoch differs from the Middle English Morality, to which it bears only a superficial resemblance in its origin, spirit and treatment. It does not also possess the religious ardour and exaltation found in such masterpieces of allegorical tales as Bunyan's *Grace Abounding* and *Pilgrim's Progress*, which, in their blend of the personal element with the mystic, admit us to the tremendous spectacle of the spiritual struggles of a human soul and its unspeakable agonies.

The date of Kṛṣṇamiśra is fixed with some certainty from his own references in the Prologue to one Gopāla, at whose command the play was written to commemorate the victory of his friend, king Kīrtivarman, over the Cedi king Karṇa.[2] As Karṇa is mentioned in an inscription dated 1042 A.D., and as an inscription of the Candella king Kīrtivarman is also dated 1098 A.D., it has been concluded that Kṛṣṇamiśra belonged to the second half of the 11th century.

The curious title of Kṛṣṇamiśra's solitary work, the *Prabodha-candrodaya*,[3] or 'the Moonrise of True Knowledge', suggests its theme. It is a profound philosophical allegory, in six acts, of the whole life of man, and not of particular virtue or vice, cast in the form of a dramatic strife between the forces of the human mind that lead to true knowledge and those that are opposed to them. It is conceived as an internecine struggle between the two powerful sons of the regal Mind (Manas), born respectively of his two wives, Activity (Pravṛtti) and Repose (Nivṛtti) and named king Confusion (Moha) and king Discrimination (Viveka). Among the faithful adherents of king Confusion, stand Love (Kāma) and his wife Pleasure (Rati); Anger (Krodha) and Injury (Hiṃsā); Egoism (Ahaṃkāra) and his grandson Deceit (Dambha), born of Greed (Lobha) and Desire (Tṛṣṇā); Heresy

[2] See HULTZSCH and KIELHORN in *Ep. Ind.*, I, pp. 217 f., 325; V. A. SMITH in *IA*, XXXVII, 1908, p. 143. The victory appears to have been won through the valour of Gopāla, who may have been an ally; but the commentator Maheśvara thinks that he was a general (Senāpati) of Kīrtivarman.

[3] Ed. Bhavanicharan SARMAN, with the comm. of Maheśvara, Calcutta 1832; ed. H. BROCKHAUS, Leipzig 1835, 1845; ed. V. L. PANSIKAR, with Naṇḍillagopa's Candrikā and Rāmadāsa Dikṣita's Prakāśa comm., NSP, Bombay 1898 (2nd ed. 1904). Trs. into Eng. by J. TAYLOR, Bombay 1886, 1893, 1916; into German by T. GOLDSTÜCKER, Kōnigsberg 1842; into French by G. DEVEZE in *Rev. de la Linguistique et de Philologie Comp.*, XXXII-XXXV, Paris 1899-1902. Bibliography by SCHUYLER in *JAOS*, XXV, 1904, pp. 194-96.

(Mithyā-dṛṣṭi) described as a courtesan; and Materialism represented by Cārvāka. On the other side are arrayed, but for the time being stand routed, the forces of king Discrimination, namely Reason (Mati), Duty (Dharma) Pity (Karuṇā), Goodwill (Maitrī), Peace (Śānti) and her mother Faith (Śraddhā), Forgiveness (Kṣamā), Contentment (Santoṣa), Judgment (Vastuvicāra), Religious Devotion (Bhakti) and others. The plot is ingeniously developed by means of allegorical incidents, as well as by comic and erotic relishes, and centres round the accomplishment of the ultimate union of king Discrimination (Viveka) and Sacred Lore (Upaniṣad), from which is predicted the overthrow of king Confusion by the birth of True Knowledge (Prabodha) and Spiritual Wisdom (Vidyā). As the meeting ground of all faiths and heresies, Benares is aptly selected as the key-spot which both parties attempt to occupy, but which becomes at the outset the triumphant seat of Confusion. To this is linked the episode of Peace (Śānti), who has lost her mother Faith (Śraddhā), and of the trials of the assailed Faith who is saved by Devotion (Bhakti). The first episode, cleverly conceived, delineates the desperate plight of Peace, who searches in vain for Faith in Jainism, Buddhism and Brahmanism (Soma Cult); each appears with a wife claiming to be Faith, but Peace cannot recognise her mother in these distorted forms. After the vicissitudes of the great struggle and ultimate triumph of the good party, the old Mind is disconsolate over the loss of his progeny Confusion and his wife Activity; but true Doctrine, the Vedānta, appears, disabuses him of false ideas and advises him to settle down with the other remaining wife, Repose, who is worthy of him. In the end, the Supreme Lord appears as Being or Puruṣa; Discrimination is united with Sacred Lore; and the prophecy is fulfilled by the birth of True Knowledge out of the union.

With such abstract and essentially scholastic subject-matter, it is difficult to produce a drama of real interest. But it is astonishing that, apart from the handicaps inherent in the method and purpose, Kṛṣṇamiśra succeeds, to a remarkable degree, in giving us an ingenious picture of the spiritual struggle of the human mind in the dramatic form of a vivid conflict, in which the erotic, comic and devotional interests are cleverly utilised. In form, the work is arranged as a regular comedy and does not differ from the ordinary play. With regard to dialogue and metrical arrangement, it is not inferior; and the amusing scenes of various forms of hypocrisy, arrogance and pedantry show considerable power of lively satire. On the doctrinal side, the composition attempts to synthesise Advaitic Vedānta with Viṣṇubhakti, but the philosophical and didactic content does not make it heavily pedantic nor insipidly doctrinarian. Even if represented by personified abstractions, the theme is made a matter of common internal experience, and not an abstruse theological exercise. The allegorising is consistent, and there is no frigidity in the plot; we follow it with interest and curiosity as much as we follow the unfolding of a dramatic spectacle. On the literary side also Kṛṣṇamiśra can frame fine sentences and stanzas of both emotional and reflective kinds. Admitting all this, it would be idle, however, to pretend that the author, despite his dramatic grasp and inventiveness, is completely successful

in shaping his abstract ideas into living persons. The method of presenting a single trait, instead of the whole man, in a magnified form, and of attaching a descriptive label to it, can hardly be expected to produce life-like results. The gift of satire and realism, as well as of poetry, which the author undeniably possesses, saves his pictures from being caricatures ; but his religious ardour is never so passionate and his poetic fancy never so enchanting as to enable him (as they enable Bunyan and Spenser partially) to clothe his abstract qualities with vivid personality, and compel our sympathy with his shadowy personages as with real beings. Nevertheless, of all such plays in Sanskrit, Kṛṣṇamiśra's work must be singled out as an attractive effort of much real merit.

The other allegorical plays are elaborate, but in no way commendable, productions. Their number is quite respectable,[4] but most of them are comparatively little known. Even their titles, without going further, often suggest and fully explain their theme and character. The work which stands next in date and sustained effort, but not in dramatic quality, is the *Mohaparājaya*[5] or 'Conquest of Confusion' of Yaśaḥpāla, son of Dhanadadeva and Rukmiṇī of the Moḍha family of Gujarat and himself a minister of Caulukya Kumārapāla's successor, Ajayapāla (1229-32 A.D.). It is a play in five acts, and the title itself indicates the influence of Kṛṣṇamiśra's work ; but it is composed chiefly in the interest of Jainism and is furnished with a few concrete historical characters, surrounded by personifications of abstract qualities. It describes the conversion of Kumārapāla into Jainism by the famous Ācārya Hemacandra, both of whom, of course, appear in the play ; but it also utilises the erotic Nāṭikā motif of the king's marriage with Kṛpāsundarī, who is a real personage but who is figured from her name as the incarnation of Beautiful Compassion, the marriage taking place through the efforts of the minister Puṇyaketu, the Banner of Merit, and with the ministration of Hemacandra as the priest. As a pledge Kumārapāla agrees to banish the seven sins (Gambling, Flesh-eating, Drinking, Slaughter, Theft and Adultery, Concubinage being overlooked) and abolishes the practice of confiscating the property of heirless persons ; while with the help of Hemacandra, armoured in his *Yoga-śāstra* and made invincible by his *Vītarāgastuti*, the king succeeds in removing the siege laid on Man's Mind by king Confusion. There is some historical interest in the delineation of the activities of Jainism and Kumārapāla's beneficent regulations, but the literary merit of the work need not be exaggerated. The erotic episode is ineffective, and the presentation of the vices, on the model of Kṛṣṇamiśra's work, is a feeble and unconvincing attempt.

The *Caitanya-candrodaya*[6] of Paramānanda-dāsa-sena Kavikarṇapūra,

[4] For a list see Sten KONOW, *Indische Drama*, pp. 93-96.

[5] Ed. Muni CATURVIJAYA, Gaekwad's Orient. Series, Baroda, 1918.

[6] Ed. Rajendralala MITRA, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta, 1854 ; ed. KEDARNATH and V. L. PANASIKAR, NSP, Bombay 1906. For a detailed account of the work and author, see S. K. DE, *Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal*, Chs. II and VII.

son of Śivānanda of Kāñcanapallī (Kāñcīpādā) Bengal, was composed in 1572 A.D. at the command of Gajapati Pratāparudra of Orissa. It is, in essence, a dramatised account of Caitanya's life at Navadvīpa and Puri. Even if it introduces allegorical (e.g., Maitrī, Bhakti, Adharma, Virāga, etc.) and mythical (e.g. Nārada, Rādhā, Kṛṣṇa, etc. in the inset play) figures as a subsidiary contrivance, as well as the device of a mythological play inserted into the real play, it is not really an allegorical play, for the action does not hinge upon the allegorical element. Kavikarṇapūra is a facile writer, but he conceives himself as a poet and devotee rather than as a sober historian. The work affords an interesting glimpse into the atmosphere of Caitanyaism and records some tradition which the poet's father (who figures in the play) as an elderly disciple of Caitanya might have handed down; but with its muddled theological discourse, weak characterisation and rhetorical embellishments, it neither brings out adequately the spiritual significance of Caitanya's life nor attains much distinction as a dramatic or historical contribution.

It would be enough if such of the remaining plays of this type, as are better known, are briefly noticed here, for they are works of no outstanding literary merit. There is some vivid portraiture, as well as some sharp satire and ingenious fancy, but the reflective, theological and allegorical side gets altogether the better of the dramatic, pictorial and poetic. To the 16th century belongs the *Dharma-vijaya*[7] of Bhūdeva Śukla, which allegorises in five acts the advantages of a life of spiritual duty, and introduces, besides the usual personifications of virtues and vices, characters like Poetry (Kavitā), Prākṛta and Poetic Figure (Alaṃkāra). The *Vidyā-pariṇaya*,[8] composed by Vedakavi, but dutifully ascribed to the author's patron Ānandarāya Makhin, son of Nṛsiṃha of Bharadvāja Gotra (who was Ānandarāo Peshwa, minister of Sarabhoji of Tanjore, 1711-29 A.D.), describes in seven acts the marriage of king Jīva (Individual Soul) and Vidyā (Spiritual Wisdom), with the usual paraphernalia of theology and erotic imagery; while the *Jīvānanda*[9] of the same poet, also in seven acts, apparently written earlier for Sahji of Tanjore (1687-1711 A.D.), is a work of similar import but of little dramatic merit. The *Amṛtodaya*,[10] in five acts, of the Maithila Gokulanātha, son of Pītāmbara and Umādevī, a court-poet of Fateh Shah of Srinagar (about 1615 A.D.), similarly depicts the allegorical progress of Jīva from creation to anni-

[7] Ed. Narayan Sastri KHISTE in Saraswatī Bhavana Texts Series, Benares 1930; also ed. Grantha-ratna-mālā, iii, Nos. 6-7, Bombay, 1889-90. The *Rasa-vilāsa* of Bhūdeva Śukla was composed about 1550 A.D. (*ABORI*, XIII, p. 185).

[8] Ed. SIVADATTA and K. P. PARAB, NSP, Bombay, 1893. The work expressly mentions in the Prologue the *Prabodha-candrodaya*, *Saṃkalpa-sūryodaya* and *Bhāvanā-puruṣottama*. The last named work was composed in five acts by Śrīnivāsa Atirātrayājin, son of Bhāvasvāmin and Lakṣmī, of Surasamudra (a place between Tanjore and Madura). It is noticed by BURNELL in his *Cat. of Skt. MSS. in the Tanjore Palace Library*, p. 170.

[9] Ed. DURGAPRASAD and K. P. PARAB, NSP, Bombay, 1891.

[10] Ed. SIVADATTA and K. P. PARAB, NSP, Bombay, 1897. The work was composed in 1693 A.D.

hilation. The *Śrīdāma-carita*[11] of Sāmarāja Dīkṣita, composed in 1681 A.D., deals, in a mixed allegorical form in five acts, with the legend of Śrīdāma, a companion of Kṛṣṇa, in which the hero, a favourite of Learning (Sarasvatī) but obnoxious to Prosperity (Lakṣmī), is assailed by Poverty and Folly, but is ultimately saved by the virtuous agents of Kṛṣṇa. Even less interesting are the elaborate South Indian plays, the *Saṃkalpa-sūryodaya*, in ten acts, of Veṅkaṭanātha Vedāntadeśika Kavitārkikasiṃha,[12] and the *Yatirāja-vijaya*[13] or *Vedānta-vilāsa*, in six acts, of Varadācārya or Ammal Ācārya,[14] both of which give a dreary allegory of the triumph of Rāmānuja's doctrine, and illustrate in its extreme form the use of the allegorical drama for the purpose of sectarian propaganda.

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[11] Analysed in WILSON, *Hindu Theatre*, Vol. II, p. 404 f. On Sāmarāja's date (latter part of the 17th century) and works, see S. K. DE, *Sanskrit Poetics*, I, p. 320; P. K. GODE in *ABORI*, X. pp. 158-59, where mention is made of another work of Sāmarāja on Kāmaśāstra, entitled *Rati-kallolinī*, and composed in 1719 A.D. His *Śṛṅgārāmṛta-laharī* is published in Kāvyamālā, Gucchaka xiv.

[12] Ed. E. SRINIVASACHARYA, Conjeevaram, 1914; ed. K. NARAYANACHARYA and D. R. IYENGAR, Śrī-Vāṇī-vilāsa Press, Srirangam, 1917 (acts i-v), with Eng. trans.; also ed. in the *Pandit*, xxviii-xxxii (1906-10), xxxiv (1912), xxxvii (1915) and xxxviii (1916). The author, better known as Vedāntadeśika only, was a versatile teacher and polygraph, who flourished in the latter half of the 13th century. The work is written obviously on the model of Kṛṣṇamiśra's *Prabodha-candrodaya*, but it is adapted to the tenets of the author's own school, and follows pedantically, in the arrangement of its acts, the order of topics of the *Vedānta-sūtra*.

[13] Ed. K. Viraraghava TATACARYA, Kumbhakonam, 1902.

[14] The author, son of Ghaṭikāśata Sudarśanācārya, was a Vaiṣṇava teacher of Kāñcī in the latter half of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century. But see E. V. Vira RAGHAVACHARYA in *Journal of Veṅkateśvara Oriental Institute*, II, pt. i; (1941), who would place Varadācārya in the 14th century.

INDUS CIVILIZATION*

III. Ceramics, Seals and Sealings, Shell, Ivory, Faience, &c.

By

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Representations on the Seals : Many of the seals show animals presumably sacred to the gods of the city. The so-called unicorn, resembling either an antelope of heavy build or an ox with a tufted tail, occurs on about 700 seals. The unicorn might have had the place in the early Indian symbolism that it afterwards held in Persian mythology. In front of the unicorns on the seals, there is a curious standard-like object the lower portion of which is a bowl-like receptacle standing on an upright support. The object above the bowl looks like a cage, sometimes closed on the top, which sometimes has a knob or handle. Next in honour, a poor second, comes the short-horned bull (60 seals), which is always found with its head lowered and twisted slightly to one side, as if the animal were just about to charge. On some specimens an ornamental collar appears round the neck of the beast. The wrinkles and the dewlap have usually been faithfully represented. In every case, a flat-bottomed low manger (or feeding trough according to Dr. Hunter)[33] with concave sides is found in front of the bull below its head. The suggestion that the manger was probably of basket work has been supported by seal 370 (*Fur. Exc.*), where woven pattern is clearly seen.[34] Dr. Hunter has shown that this manger is a kind of sympathetic magic as it is placed only before wild animals ; the mythical animals have no manger.[35] The manner of representation of the bull on seals has no exact parallel in Elam or Sumer ; and hence it seems to be an Indian conception. The examples of bulls in belligerent attitude in these countries differ materially from the Indian examples. No. 661 (*Fur. Exc.*) represents the scene of two bulls in a combat, the first of its kind to be found in India. No instance of such scenes is found in early Sumerian or Elamite art, but they are common in Egypt. One round seal found in the pre-Dynastic cemetery at Ur resembles certain Indus Valley seals in material and shape, presenting the short-horned bull with lowered head and a couple of signs resembling the Indus Valley pictographs. It has been suggested that the short-horned animal is a bison ; but it has no hump and the horns are not sufficiently curved; perhaps the beast represents a cross between the ox and the bison.[36] Then comes the Brahmani bull (39 seals) with its characteristic hump on the shoulders. The representation of this animal on seal 337 where it is garlanded has been marvellously executed ; in feeling and in the careful por-

* Continued from *Bhāratiya Vidyā*, IV, p. 84.

[33] *JRAS*, 1932, p. 472.

[34] Mackay, *Fur. Exc.*, p. 327.

[35] *JRAS*, 1932, p. 472.

[36] Cf. Majumdar, *Exp. in Sind*, p. 52.

trayal of the muscles it will compare favourably with early glyptic art anywhere. The original habitat of this bull is yet to be ascertained ; but it can be definitely associated with the Indus Valley civilisation since Indian humped cattle are shown to possess immensely long horns. Humped cattles were known in Elam, Assyria, and pre-flood Ur. The elephant, which is carefully portrayed with its trunk recalling the African species, occurs on 34 seals. It is rarely represented on pottery. Excepting No. 648 (*Fur. Exc.*), all seals show the elephant of the Indian type with a straight back and comparatively small ears. The manger appears only on one seal (Pl. CXII, 369, *MIC*). The absence of manger is explained by FRIEDERICHS[37] as due to the elephant being represented as walking, and walking animals need no crib. On a cylinder seal unearthed by Dr. FRANKFORT at Tell Asmar in Mesopotamia,[38] a fine representation of an Indian elephant appears in company with a rhinoceros and a gharial, and appears from its style, to have been cut most certainly in India. Cylinder seals being rare, both at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, and common in Sumer, it is remarkable that purely Indian devices should have been engraved on a seal of this shape. Possibly, Dr. FRANKFORT's seal was used by an Indian trader in Sumer who selected the cylindrical form as perhaps more convenient in that country than the stamp seal, for marking clay documents and the like. The existence of the tiger is proved by its representation on 18 seals. The same kind of manger associated with short-horned bull is found with the tiger. In No. 518 (*Fur. Exc.*) it is of a different shape. Seal 259 (*Fur. Exc.*) bears the most realistic representation of a tiger, shown with open mouth and protruding tongue, as is the lion in Western Asiatic art, in contrast with Egypt where the animal is less ferocious in appearance. The presence of the trough would suggest that tigers were sometimes kept in captivity. Next comes the rhinoceros (12 seals) which is single-horned. The excrescences on the skin are indicated either by finely drilled holes or by hatched lines. In every case, the animal is rendered with extreme fidelity even to the wicked pig-like eye. Manger occurs in two seals. In No. 140 (*Fur. Exc.*) the cult object associated exclusively with the urus bull is found ; the head is very similar to the urus except ears and horn, and also the body excepting warty excrescences. It seems to be a composite animal of a new form with the cult object of urus. Perhaps the mingling of two cults is evidenced here. On No. 651, the rhinoceros is depicted with greatest fidelity. The buffalo represented with its characteristic attitude with nose up sniffing the air, apparently in a belligerent mood is found on 11 seals. The head is portrayed, as in early Sumer, to show both horns. Manger appears in most of the seals. Gharials or fish-eating crocodiles appear on 6 seals. One cylinder seal (No. 488, *Fur. Exc.*) shows fish in the jaws of the reptile.[39] Gharial is found also on two sealings. It is found in the Indus. It cannot be said whether Gharial was held sacred in the Indus Valley. The

[37] *Der Alte Orient*, p. 19 ; cf. *Fur. Exc.*, p. 329. [38] *ABIA*, 1932, Pl. I b.

[39] Dr. MACKAY records that the peculiar Indian device of the gharial with a fish in its mouth is never seen on Sumerian seals (*JRSA*, 82, p. 217).

antelope appears on 5 seals. On seal 3 (*Fur. Exc.*) it is shown with the cult object associated with unicorn bull; the inscription has been removed from the seal. The goat with its horizontal, spiral horns and short up-turned tail appears to have been copied from the domestic variety, excepting that it wears human face. On seal 670 (*Fur. Exc.*) is inscribed a domesticated goat, but it is looking backwards. A mountain goat appears on seals 554 and 673 (*Fur. Exc.*). It is at present an open question whether the two animals on cylinder seal No. 488 (*Fur. Exc.*) are goats or antelopes, as also the two animals beneath the seated god on seal 420. Scorpion is yet to be identified amongst the Indus Valley pictographs. It appears nowhere on the pottery, nor on the seals or sealings. We very rarely find a lively specimen in the ruins of Mohenjo-Daro or in the country around. Dr. MACKAY states that frog is possibly represented on seal 45 (*Fur. Exc.*) and that this is the first representation of this animal hitherto found.[40] It may be observed, however, that the animal does not look like a frog. The lion is not represented at all.

Another group of seals shows a procession in which the image of the unicorn is carried on a standard. Behind it, is carried the curious cult object, perhaps a censer, which is always shown with it. Before it, is another object, which exactly resembles the standard with a long streamer peculiar to pre-Dynastic Egypt.

Some seals represent mythological creatures. A male human figure, with bull's ears, horns, hoofs and tail, which is common on Mesopotamian seals, occurs on 2 seals (Nos. 356, 357) which is called Eabani or Enkidu by Sir John MARSHALL and Dr. MACKAY.[41] According to Dr. FRANKFORT, "it is safest not to put a name to this creature; for it is not at all certain that it was called Eabani or Enkidu by the ancients";[42] while Mr. BRAILSFORD sees in the seals, a female connected with the tree of life.[43] The man in seal 358 is engaged in working shadoof whose counterpoise is seen at the end of the pole above and behind his head.

Composite animals are shown on a few seals. On seal 378 it is shown with its tail armed with phincers. Seals 24 and 494 (*Fur. Exc.*) represent a combination of urus-like animal with two other heads, of antelope and short-horned bull. Possibly the owner sought the aid of three deities. Four seals (Nos. 411, 450, 521, 636, *Fur. Exc.*) have the curious human-faced animal, with fore-legs of an ox-like animal, and the striped hind-quarters and feet resembling those of a tiger. There are short curved horns and the human face shown in profile, which apparently has an elephant's trunk hanging from the chin and a pair of tusks. There is thus a fusion of three, possibly four, animals with the human form, which perhaps represented a deity that was worshipped at Mohenjo-Daro. As this composite creature wears garlands on seal representations, Dr. MACKAY thinks that it was perhaps portrayed in statue form.[44] Composite animals are wellknown in ancient art in other parts of the world,

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[40] MACKAY, *Fur. Exc.*, p. 331. [41] *MIC*, p. 357; *Fur. Exc.*, p. 657.
[42] *ABIA*, 1934, p. 10. [43] *AP*, 1932, p. 640 n. [44] *Fur. Exc.*, p. 333.

and are supposed to have been invented in Sumer and Elam. "It is not outside the bounds of possibility that the conception of a composite animal originated in India and spread from there gradually to the west by the land route."[45] These composite animals appear only on seals of earlier occupations as none have been found above the level-12·6′. But as they are not numerous, it may be quite by chance that none were found in the upper strata.[46]

Except in inscriptions where human figure frequently appears as a pictograph, we rarely find examples of human form as a main motif. Seal 222 (*Fur. Exc.*) represents the figure, probably of a deity, seated in a *yogic* attitude with heels pressed together on a bull-legged dais. Arms are outstretched on either side, with a large number of bracelets on each arm. The headdress consists of a twig with *pipal*-like leaves, to the base of which are fastened horns separate from the head. The figure has three faces, one in front and two in profile. Seal 235 (*Fur. Exc.*) has a similar figure with minor variations. There is also another seal found in earlier excavations, the figure on which has been identified by Sir John MARSHALL with Śiva, with his trident and animals.[47] Pictographic signs on these three seals have no relation to the figure, and are probably the names of the owners of the seals. Dr. MACKAY suggests seal 279 (*Fur. Exc.*) to be a representation of a belief like the legend of Dundubhī whom Śiva and other gods attacked with tridents, spears, etc.[48] No barbed spear has yet been found at Mohenjo-Daro, though found at Ur. The scene on seal 510 (*Fur. Exc.*) may represent an episode connected with the hunting of the wild buffalo; or perhaps it may be a god attacking his enemies. Buffalo is regarded as the *vāhana* of Yama in Hindu mythology. Man seated in a tree with a tiger below appears on a number of seals. It therefore seems that the scene represents a legend which was very popular. On seal 430 (*Fur. Exc.*) tree goddess or spirit in a *pipal* tree appears to a kneeling worshipper behind whom stands a goat with a human face. Below are seven votaries each dressed in a short kilt and wearing a long pigtail and a spray of leaves or a feather in the hair. Dr. MACKAY regards the worshipper also as a goddess, but of a lower degree.[49] The goat with a human face is certainly not a sacrificial animal. The combination of a woman with a tiger's body on seal 347 (*Fur. Exc.*) is entirely new to us; but it is not like the centaur, because the forelegs are human. The figure on seal 437 (*Fur. Exc.*) has been identified with Durgā, whose vehicle is the tiger. It may be Śiva, if the figure is male.

Trees seldom appear on the seals, though they are fairly common on the sealings. *Pipal* is represented on most of the seals bearing tree motifs; *babul*

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[45] MACKAY, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

[46] The cult object has been replaced by manger (Seal 330, *Fur. Exc.*) and by a dancing figure with a tail (Seal 316, *Fur. Exc.*). Dr. MACKAY takes the latter to be a human figure wearing a mask and false tail for a ceremonial dance (*Fur. Exc.*, p. 334).

[47] Pl. XII, 17; *MIC.* pp. 53-56. [48] *Fur. Exc.*, p. 336.

[49] *Fur. Exc.*, p. 338.

is found on some. On 509 and 522 (*Fur. Exc.*) occurs some kind of acacia.

SOLAR MOTIF : The divinity of which the urus-like animal was the symbol, may have been a solar deity, if the curious object with rays on seal 641 (*Fur. Exc.*) is accepted as the sun-disc. With the exception of some doubtful representations on painted pottery, neither the sun, moon nor stars appear anywhere in the art of the ancient Indus Valley, though they frequently occur on early seals and painted pottery of Sumer and Elam.

As already observed, seal 30 (*Fur. Exc.*) clearly bears a representation of a ship of which representations are rare at Mohenjo-Daro. The vessel has been described earlier.[50]

Mr. MAJUMDAR in his *Explorations in Sind*, has given illustrations and descriptions of the seals excavated in the various sites.[51] At Jhukar, was found a square seal of steatite bearing a figure of unicorn and a line of pictographic characters similar in every respect to the Indus seals. Out of the three seals at Chanhu-Daro, the shield sign on Pl. XVII. 38 (*Expl. in Sind*) is interesting as it occurs for the first time in the Indus Valley. Pl. XVII. 44 (*Expl. in Sind*) probably depicts the *pipal* tree. At Lohumjo-Daro was found a steatite boss seal bearing about a dozen pictographic signs in a line and the device of the unicorn. As the unicorn shares the features of both the bull and the antelope, Mr. MAJUMDAR opines that it may correspond to the *Gomiga* mentioned in Vedic literature.[52]

The uses to which the seals were put at Mohenjo-Daro have been the subject matter of some conjectures. They were not labels denoting the particular substances and amounts, despite the apparently numerous numbers on them, because they are mostly carved elaborately in stone. The large variations in the inscriptions speak against their use as money. To take them as amulets is impossible, for in that case the reversed writing, as compared with that on the embossed, stamped and moulded objects, on 99% of these objects, cannot be accounted for ; and further, the fact of most of the seals having a projecting boss at the back, seems to disprove the conjectural use of these seals as amulets. The reversed writing can only be explained as intended for reproduction by sealing. These seals do not always seem to have been carried on the person as is seen from their great number and from the fact that they were found from the houses of the rich and poor alike. It is perhaps significant that no sealing has been found as yet impressed with these seals. Dr. HUNTER accounts for the absence by suggesting that "their purpose was the stamping of unbaked clay to be carried outside the city with the offerings."[53] That use is possible, but not absolutely certain. That every family possessed a seal does not necessarily mean that they had a religious purpose. "Possibly, however, the combined functions of seal, amulet (with dates in days?) and ex-voto may furnish a fairly adequate account of the situation, frequently constant design with mostly variant inscription."[54] Dr. FABRI sug-

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[50] *Bhāratiya Vidyā*, III, p. 154.
[51] *Exp. in Sind*, pp. 11, 38, 52.
[52] *Exp. in Sind*, p. 52, also note.
[53] *JRAS*, 1932, p. 471.
[54] F. W. T(homas), *JRAS*, 1932, p. 460.

gests that the seals are of a commercial character, of the nature of I.O.U.s.[55]

These seals bear no resemblance to foreign seals, either in devices or pictographs or even in shape. Only three cylinder seals have been found so far, the most popular form in Mesopotamia. In Egypt, the cylinder seal gave place to the stamp seal. At Jemdet Nasr, both forms are found together, while in Elam, stamp seals antedate the cylinder form.[56]

SEALINGS : Only 30 seal impressions have been found of which 13 are of faience and the rest, of baked clay. Only two of these (Pl. CXVI. 6,30) could have been produced from the types of seals described already. These seal impressions are divided into four classes, viz. (*i*) rectangular or square tablets, (*ii*) triangular prisms, (*iii*) round tablets, and (*iv*) pottery vessels. Pl. CXVI. 1 shows six human figures in a row, with a goat in front facing a tree with a human figure in centre, while below them is a kneeling figure with a bladed object in one hand. Composite animals, rhinoceros, unicorn, gharial, a file of animals, etc., are found in the various impressions. On two triangular prisms appears the same scene of four men carrying standards, the central one showing a unicorn (Pl. CXVI. 5, 8). Pl. CXVI. 14 shows on one face an elephant, a rhinoceros, a tiger and a cat-like animal, below a fish and a gharial with fish in mouth. The other side has a file of animals, unicorn, cow, short-horned bull and rhinoceros, below a jungle fowl and gharial. On the third side are two goats eating from a tree, a jungle fowl, men pushing a goat-like animal and an antelope-like animal with two heads. There are six seal impressions of round tablets, all slightly varying in detail, having the short-horned bull and the rhinoceros with the manger in front (Pl. CXVI, 28), the unicorn (Pl. CXVI, 30), etc. On the impressions of pottery vessels, the inscriptions are better impressed than the animals. Further Excavations record only 7 objects which were certainly once affixed to a matting or a rough textile ; others were used as charms or amulets. Amuletic sealings are rare, as they were possibly carried in a case or a pouch on the person, and therefore less likely to be lost. Practically all are damaged by rubbing. Amulets are made of either faience or pottery since both lend themselves to moulding. Pottery sealings are best and clearest. They are moderately baked and of light pink colour ; some are entirely coated with a red slip. No special variety of clay was used. Faience amulets were made of a granular grey substance of a very porous nature, or of an equally glazed paste, yellow throughout.

COPPER TABLETS : The copper tablets are flat and rectangular or square in shapes. They have either an animal or human figure on one side and the inscription on the other ; or the inscription on both sides. The figures and signs are carefully cut with a burin. They were cast first and then hammered smooth. Various animals are inscribed on the tablets ; and they always face to the right except antelopes which look backwards over their shoulders. In further excavations were also unearthed copper tablets in considerable numbers in buildings of late period. These tablets are invariably covered with a thick patina. After cleaning, if the tablet is not too much corroded, the animal

[55] *IC*, I, p. 51. [56] *MIC*, p. 381, also n 3.

or the inscription appears in faint dark red lines upon the lighter red of the copper, the incisions being filled in with cupreous oxide. On some of these tablets is inscribed the endless rope pattern which had a magical significance, being regarded as a symbol of longevity. It appears likely, therefore, that these tablets were used as amulets.

Some of these copper tablets were cut to definite sizes, and there are three shapes, viz. long and narrow; square or nearly so; and rectangular. Long narrow tablets were evidently used only for inscription, and square tablets were used either for inscription or for animals. It cannot be definitely stated whether the tablets were cut or sawn. The tablet illustrated in Pl. LXXXII. 6 (*Fur. Exc.*), probably of bronze, is of unusual form, 0·85″ in diameter and 0·12″ thick, bearing the same inscription on both sides. The obverse has a composite animal, and the reverse has the familiar urus like animal with its cult object before it. It was probably carried as an amulet and is the first of its kind to be found.

These tablets could not have been used as seals, since they are only lightly incised. "These copper tablets," says Dr. HUNTER, "are generally regarded as late; and possibly by this time the original purpose of engraving the sacred animal on seals had been lost sight of, and had, by the time of these copper tablets become merely heraldic."[57] He regards these tablets as coins or stamped ingots.[58] Dr. MACKAY[59] controverts this view, because though there is resemblance in shape and size in the case of some, there is no agreement in weight, and great importance was given at Mohenjo-Daro to accuracy. They cannot be regarded as ingots for none are of sufficient size to be useful in the manufacture of anything else, and nobody would take the trouble to incise carefully on both sides of ingots devices destined to be lost in the melting pot or by the hammer. In the opinion of Prof. Gordon CHILDE, the term "seal" is conventional, and the objects thus denoted must be classed as ritual—a learned way of saying that we have no notion what they were for.[60]

SHELL: Shell is extensively used especially in the making of ornaments and pieces of inlay. Natural shells comprise several genera, and were used as material for the shell-worker or worn as beads or amulets. Most of the shells are of the variety known as Fasciolaria trapezium Linn, which, along with other shells, might have come from places along the coast of India and the Persian Gulf. Mussel shell was also fairly common and was probably used as a spoon. Oliva were worn as ornaments and had some amuletic value attached to them. Cockle shells were probably used, as in early Sumer, to hold cosmetics. Only one cowrie shell has been found upto now, and it appears that it was neither used as an amulet nor as currency.[61] Cowrie is used in Sind and other parts of India as a protection against evil eye, and as a fertility charm. Sank, which is at present used for manufacturing bangles, was also used as is seen from Col. SEWELL'S report.[62] Mother of Pearl is cons-

[57] *JRAS*, 1932, p. 473. [58] *JRAS*, 1932, p. 474. [59] *Fur. Exc.*, p. 369.
[60] *New Light on the Most Ancient East*, London, 1934, p. 218.
[61] *Fur. Exc.*, p. 582. [62] *MiC*, p. 665.

Daro or at Harappa.[70]

METALS AND MINERALS : We shall now consider each metal and mineral found in the Indus Valley with reference to its probable source, mode of manufacturing articles from it and the various articles made from it. Gold evidently takes the first place among metals, and out of the various likely sources indicated for the gold found in the Indus Valley, South India is held to be the most probable one, as in addition to the undoubted connections established with the South, the electron that is found alloyed in the Mohenjo-Daro gold occurs also in the Kolar gold mines and in those in the Anantpur District.[71] Excepting needles which were used for sewing or netting all articles of gold are personal ornaments. Different kinds of beads of gold were variously made by soldering cup-like pieces together, or by casting or by beating out and soldering together. Bangles had a small hole at each end, and were made, without soldering, of thin sheet gold with the metal slightly overlapping on the inside. Gold terminals also were made from thin sheet metal. Conical gold caps were made by beating and bending, with a gold loop soldered at the pointed tip. Spacers were made by soldering the globular beads together. Gold fillets were of thin gold with a small hole at each rounded end and another at the bottom of the V-shaped piece in the middle.

Though gold cannot by any means be said to be rare at Mohenjo-Daro, the supply of silver was more ample. Southern India may have been the source of the Indus supplies, if the ancients knew how to separate silver from gold ; but the art of separating silver from lead being more ancient, Afghanistan, Armenia and Persia range among the possible sources. Large globular silver beads were cast or beaten out ; there were no spacers and terminals in silver. Ear-rings were made of silver wire roughly bent round with ends overlapping. A silver finger ring with its bezel having a design of crosses and semi-crosses, is a simple strip of silver roughly soldered to the bezel. Silver bracelets, slightly oval in shape, were made on core like gold bracelets.

Copper and bronze are found side by side to the lowest level at Mohenjo-Daro. It is not yet definite whether bronze was natural or artificial.[72] Copper may have come from Rajputana, Baluchistan or Madras. The use of bronze instead of copper for the utensils at Mohenjo-Daro indicates a great advance in metal working. Copper vessels were raised from sheet metal ; those of bronze by the process called cire perdue, and, according to the Archæological Chemist, not by beating out of sheet bronze as is held by Dr. MACKAY.[73] Needles and awls were made of copper or bronze, the eyes being formed either by drilling holes close together and then breaking the intervening material, or by bending the head over as in some pre-Sargonic needles made at Kish.[74] Copper and bronze finger rings were generally made of coiled wire.[75]

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[70] *Bhāratiya Vidya*, III, p. 147. [71] *MIC*, p. 29 ; also PASCOE, *op. cit.*, p. 674.

[72] MACKAY (*Fur. Exc.*, p. 445) has no doubt that bronze was as much used in the lower levels as in the upper occupations. [73] *MIC*, p. 489 n 1.

[74] MACKAY, *Rep. on Exc. of "A" Cemetery*, Pt. I, Pl. XIX, 11..

[75] Other articles are knives, daggers, saws, fish-hooks, chisels, rods, blades, axes, spacers, terminals, beads, razors, mirrors, kohl-sticks, chains, weapons, statues, etc.

Lead was extensively mined in various parts of ancient India, on account of association of silver with it. Dr. HAMID'S analysis of the sample of lead revealed no traces of silver, while minute traces have been found in the samples submitted to the Sumer Committee.[76] Mohenjo-Daro lead, according to Sir Edwin PASCOE, may well have come from Ajmer.[77]

Building stone was as rare in ancient Sind as it is even now. White or pale-coloured lime-stone, gypsum and alabaster were found at Sukkar, in Kirthar mountains or in Kathiawad. Yellow jesalmere, steatite and dark grey slate were obtainable from Rajputana, while gneiss and basalt were generally found in the neighbourhood. Others were the varieties of lime-stones, sandstones and chert.[78]

Among the semi-precious stones used for ornaments were : the agate, with its numerous varieties such as carnelian, chalcedony, onyx, etc. ; jasper ; plasma, jadeite ; amazon ; amethyst ; blood stone ; azure-blue nephaline soda-lite ; etc. Amazon and amethyst are indicated from the south, and lapis lazuli, turquoise and jadeite from the west ; plasma, agate, jasper and blood-stone came from Rajputana and Kathiawad.[79] All these were used for manufacturing beads, necklaces and girdles, regard being paid to the colour scheme, sizes and markings of the beads. Some unfinished beads of agate show that they were shaped and smoothed before being bored, for the translucency of the polished stone helped the lapidary in drilling straight. Boring was done from both ends with pieces of thin copper rod and emery powder ; in some cases both ends did not meet in the middle.

Bitumen was largely used for waterproofing and other purposes in the buildings at Mohenjo-Daro. Out of the various probable sources, Baluchistan is the nearest place to Mohenjo-Daro.[80] Red ochre may have come from Harmuz and other islands on the Persian Gulf or from Cutch and Central India.[81] Baluchistan probably supplied green earth (glauconite), and löllingite came from Kashmir, Punjab, Chitral, or from countries to the west.[82]

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[76] *MIC*, p. 524.

[77] *MIC*, p. 677. Tin is not separately found but always alloyed with copper, called bronze.

[78] Among the articles may be included vessels, strainers, jar stands, boxes, mules, door-sockets, weights, palettes, lattice screens, statuettes, cult objects, phallic emblems, weapons, seals, beads, hair pin heads, pendants, gamesmen, etc.

[79] Sir Edwin PASCOE, *MIC*, pp. 677, 678, 680-82, 684. Col. GORDON writes in a private communication that the Nilgiris cannot be the source of amazonite, as none has ever been found there, and that it comes from Gujarat.

[80] *MIC*, p. 682. [81] *MIC*, p. 32. [82] *MIC*, p. 685.

DATE OF YOGARATNĀKARA, AN ANONYMOUS MEDICAL COMPENDIUM — BETWEEN A.D. 1650 AND 1725

By
Professor P. K. GODE, M.A.

AUFRECHT[1] records only one MS of a work on medicine called the *yogaratnākara*. This MS has been described in the Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the India Office Library.[2] AUFRECHT records another work having the title *yogaratnākara*[3] but it is different from the work of which three editions have been published. Two of these editions have been published in Poona[4] while the third has been published at Mysore.[5] The Editors of these editions have made no attempt to give us any information about the author of this popular medical compendium, which has come down to us anonymous. They do not also discuss the date of the work beyond stating that it is quite

[1] *CC II, p. 111*—"योगरत्नाकर Med. IO 1961. It quotes the *Nirṇayasindhu* and is therefore a comparatively modern compilation."

[2] Vide p. 957 of *Ind. Office Catalogue*, Part V, 1896 — MS 2709 (1961)—fair Devanāgarī writing of 1815 A.D. *Yogaratnākara*, an anonymous compilation on the cure of internal diseases, on the same plan as the *yogataraṅgiṇi*, which it repeatedly quotes. Authorities quoted by the *yogaratnākara* are :— क्वसेवन, वृन्द, योगसार, योगसागर, अश्विनीकुमारसंहिता, आरोग्यदर्पण, चक्रदत्त, चन्द्रसेन, चिकित्साकलिका, चिकित्सासार, नवरत्नमाला, निर्णयसिन्धु (fol. 73b), बौद्धसर्वस्व, भावप्रकाश, मतिमुकुर, माधव, योगचिन्तामणि (fol. 84a), योगतरङ्गिणी, योगप्रदीप, योगरत्नसमुच्चय, योगरत्नावली, योगशत, रत्नप्रदीप, रसरत्नप्रदीप, रसरत्नाकर, रसार्णव, रसेन्द्रचिन्तामणि, राजमार्तण्ड, रुद्रतन्त्र, लीलावती (on a question of arithmetic), वाग्भट, वृद्धवाग्भट, वैद्यजीवन, वैद्यविलास, वैद्यालंकार, वोपदेवशत, शंकरमत, शार्ङ्गधर, शिवागम, सारसंग्रह, भट्टारक हरिश्चन्द्र, हारीत, वृद्धहारीत.

[3] *CCI, 478*—"योगरत्नाकर yoga by Vireśvarānanda. L. 2003. Quoted in Lauhapradipa W. p. 301."

[4] *Yogaratnākara* (Anandashram Sans. Series, Poona, 1889). Ed. by Anna Moreśvara KUNTE, B.A., M.D. This edition is based on the following seven MSS:—

क—Belonging to Appasahib Purandare of Poona.

ख—dated Śaka 1701 = A.D. 1779 belonging to Sakharam Shastri Date of Poona.

ग—dated Śaka 1714 = A.D. 1792 belonging to Bhau Saheb Nagarkar of Poona.

घ—dated Śaka 1668 = A.D. 1746 belonging to Harabhaṭṭa Lagvankar.

ङ—Belonging to Gangadharrao Gadgil of वैराजक्षेत्र,

च—dated Śaka 1771 = A.D. 1849 belonging to Bandunana Ranade of Poona.

छ—belonging to Balshastri Mate of Poona.

This work was reprinted in A.D. 1900.

[5] *Yogaratnākara* with Kannada and Telugu translations, Govt. Ori. Library, Mysore, 1900 (Part I).

modern. In view of these circumstances I propose in this paper to attempt a discussion regarding the probable chronology of the work, leaving the question of its authorship to the students of the history of Indian medicine.

The India Office MS of the *yogaratnākara* referred to by AUFRECHT is dated Śaka 1737 = A.D. *1815*. It was copied by one Siddheśvara Vaidya of Belapur. Out of the seven MSS of the work used by KUNTE for his edition of 1889 four are dated A.D. *1746*, *1779*, *1792* and *1849*. In view of the date A.D. *1746* of one of KUNTE'S MSS we must infer that the work was composed before A.D. 1746.[6]

The earlier terminus for the date of the work is definitely furnished by A.D. *1612* in which year the work *Nirṇayasindhu*[7] was composed by Kamalākarabhaṭṭa. As the *yogaratnākara* quotes the *Nirṇayasindhu* we can now fix the date of composition of the *yogaratnākara between* A.D. *1612 and 1746*. This period harmonizes with the reference to *Bhāvaprakāśa* (16th Century[8]) made by the author of the *YR* (= *yogaratnākara*.[9])

Let us now try to narrow down these limits as far as possible and for this purpose record some evidence from the *YR* itself.

The *YR* contains some verses on the properties of *tamākhū* or tobacco.[10] These verses presume the cultivation of the tobacco plant in India and the continuance of this practice for 30 or 40 years at the least. As *tobacco* was first seen at the Bijapur[11] court about A.D. 1604 or 1605 it appears that its

[6] Vide Dr. POLEMAN'S Catalogue of *Indic MSS in American Libraries*, 1938, p. 265—MS No. 5310 of योगरत्नाकर with Comm. dated *Saṁvat* 1863 = A.D. 1807. On pp. 383 and 382 Dr. POLEMAN refers to योगरत्नाकर (MSS in Simhalese Script). The above MS of 1810 A.D. is recorded under the heading "वीरेश्वरानन्द ?" As the work योगरत्नाकर is anonymous can we connect its authorship with any वीरेश्वरानन्द ?

[7] Vide p. 574 of *History of Dharmaśāstra* Vol. I, (1930).

[8] HOERNLE : *Osteology*, Oxford, 1907, p. 18.

[9] Vide pp. 439 and 441 of the Poona, 1900 Edn. of YR. ("इति सहाचरादितैलं भावप्रकाशात् etc.)

[10] Page 17 of Poona Edn. of the YR—"अथ तमाखुगुणाः । धूमाख्योधूमवृक्षश्च बृहत्पत्रश्च धूसरः । तमाखुर्गुच्छफलको धूमयन्त्रप्रकाशकः ॥ १ ॥.....वमनस्य प्रभावेण वृश्चिकादि विषं हरेत् । रेचनत्वाद्धरेद्वातं श्लेष्माणंच नियच्छति ॥ ७ ॥"

"These very verses have been found in a MS of *Vaidyāvataṁsa* of Lolimbarāja (No. 601 of 1899-1915) in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona on folio 6. This MS is dated Śaka 1724 = A.D. 1802 and the above passage is introduced with the remark "ग्रन्थान्तरात्संगृहीतं". Evidently it is an insertion made in the text by the copyist in A.D. 1802 as tobacco was unknown in India in Lolimbarāja's time.

[11] Vide *Hobson-Jobson* by YULE and BURNELL, London, 1903, p. 925—Asad Beg took tobacco and pipes from Bijapur to Akbar's Court. "After that the merchants began to sell it, so the custom of smoking spread rapidly (*Asad Beg in Elliot*, vi, 165-167).

See also article on *Tobacco* in *Influence of Portuguese Vocable in Asiatic Languages* (G. O. Series, Baroda 1936) pp. 333—338. The name *tabaco* in Mexican according to Girolamo Benzoni (1550). Monards (1517) a Spanish physician pub-

cultivation in India is subsequent to this date and, therefore, we may safely add about 40 years to the above date to get one limit to the date of the *YR* which gives a description of the properties of the tobacco plant. This argument coupled with the reference made by the *YR* to the *Nirṇayasindhu* composed in A.D. 1612 would give us A.D. 1650 as the earlier limit to the date of the *YR*. This limit also harmonizes with the references in the *YR* to the works *Vaidyajīvana* and *Vaidyavilāsa*, which are presumably the works of the physician Lolimbarāja[12] of Junnar (Poona District) who flourished towards the end of the 16th Century.

In addition to the authorities quoted in the *YR* and noted in the India Office Catalogue I have noticed the following in the Poona Edition of the *YR* of 1900 :—

चरक (page 174, 311); सुश्रुत (339, 491); क्षीरपाणि (358); भोज (367) रसराजलक्ष्मी (125, 150); वृन्द (146, 176, 177); रसेन्द्रसंहिता (169); रससिन्धु[13] (170) काश्यपग्रन्थ (179); वीरसिंहावलोक[14] (196); राजमृगाङ्क (198); कमलाकर (239); कदम्ब (243); रसमञ्जरी (253); रससारसंग्रह (284); रससमुच्चय (293).

It will be seen from the foregoing data that the *yogaratnākara* was composed between about A.D. 1650 and 1725. The chronology of Sanskrit writers on medicine with the exception of that of a few major writers has not been seriously studied by scholars. If an accurate chronology can be reconstructed for all such writers and their works, the history of our medical science would be put in its proper historical perspective but the spadework in this direction needs to be done with perseverance as almost all our ancient works on medicine are in an unpublished state in the MSS libraries of public bodies or private sources.

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lished an account of *tobacco*. In 1558 T. was first brought from America to Spain. T. was first introduced into England by Thomas Harriot in 1560. In the 16th Century the Portuguese introdued T. into Africa. No references to T are found in *Baber's Memoirs* (1519-1525) nor in Gārcīa da Orta's *Coloquies* (1563), not even in Linschoten (1589). The Portuguese introduced T in India and China.

[12] Vide my article on *Lolimbarāja and his Works* contributed to *Indian Culture*, Vol. VII, No. 3, pp. 327 ff.

[13] Vide my article on the date and MS of this work in *K. B. Pathak Comm. Volume* (B. O. R. Institute, Poona, 1934) pp. 468-472. According to my evidence this work was composed between A.D. 1375 and 1450 or so. There is one MS. of this work in the Govt. MSS Library (No. 634 of 1895-1902). Another copy of the work is found with Rajavaidya S. A. JAGATAP of Kolhapur. It is dated Saka 1698 = A.D. 1776.

[14] Vide *CC I*, 595-596— Possibly this work वीरसिंहावलोक is a work on medicine by वीरसिंह of Tomara race (A.D. 1375), Son of Devavarman (A.D. 1350) grandson कमलसिंह (A.D. 1325).

VEŚYA

SYNONYMS AND APHORISMS*

By

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**69. DIDHIṢU—A woman married for the second time. According to *Śabdaratnāvalī* cited in Śabd. (at *didhiṣū*) the words : *didhiṣu*, *didhiṣū*, *didhiṣū*, and *punarbhū* are synonyms of the same word. (Identically Hem. 525 a. who adds also the word *dvirūḍhā*). See also Hemacandra's *Dhātupāṭha*, Vienna-Bombay 1901 (III-10).

The word *didhiṣu* as synonym of the word *punarbhū* has in some cases the meaning of a special kind of a prostitute. This expression means rather a man, a lover of a *didhiṣū*. See No. 107 and Nos. 70, 71.

**70. DIDHIṢŪ—A woman married for the second time. According to *Śabdaratnāvalī* cited in Śabd. (at *didhiṣū*) the words : *didhiṣū*, *didhīṣū*, *didhiṣu*, and *punarbhū* are synonyms of the same word. (Identically Hem. 525 a, who adds also the word *dvirūḍhā*). See also Hemacandra's *Dhatupāṭha*, Vienna-Bombay 1901 (III-10). Also Hem. cited in Śabd. (at *dvirūḍhā*) identifies the word *didhiṣū* with the words *punarbhū* and *dvirūḍhā*.

The word *didhiṣū* as synonym of the word *punarbhū* has in some cases the meaning of a special kind of a prostitute. See No. 107 and Nos. 69, 71.

**71. DIDHĪṢŪ—A woman married for the second time. According to *Śabdaratnāvalī* cited in Śabd. (at *didhiṣū*) the words : *didhiṣū*, *didhiṣū*, *didhiṣu* and *punarbhū* are synonyms of the same word. See also Hemacandra's *Dhātupāṭha*, Vienna-Bombay 1901 (III-10).

The word *didhīṣū* as synonym of the word *punarbhū* has in some cases the meaning of a special kind of a prostitute. See No. 107, and Nos. 69, 70.

72. DŪṢṬĀ—from *duṣ*° (corrupted, incorrect). A corrupted girl, a prostitute. According to *Śabdaratnāvalī* cited in Śabd. (at *dūṣṭā*) the word *dūṣṭā* is mentioned as synonym of the word *puṁścalī* as well as *dhṛṣṭā*, *dharṣitā*.

**73. DUHITṚKĀ—from *duhitar* (daughter). A young daughter, a young daughter of a prostitute who will become a prostitute.

I met this expression in the second meaning only in K. (124/19). There we find the following sentence : " for killing of a *mātṛkā* (procuress) of a *duhitṛkā* (a young daughter of a prostitute), or of a *rūpadāsī* (prostitute of a lower degree, the slave of beauty) the highest penalty is imposed. See J. J. MAYER : *Das altindische Buch des Welt-und Staatslebens*, Leipzig, p. 195/17 sqq.

74. DEVAGAṆIKĀ—*deva*° (god) + °*gaṇikā* (courtezan). A courtezan of the gods, an Apsaras. Hem. (ad 183 a) considers the word *devagaṇikā* as synonym of the words *apsarā*, *svargastrī* and *surastrī*.

* Continued from p. 114, Vol. IV, Pt. I.

75. DEVADĀSĪ—*deva*° (god) + °*dāsī* (servant). A harlot employed in a temple.

At first they were prostitutes for the benefit of the temples, so that the income of their prostitution belonged to the temple's treasure. Later they became real *devadāsī* and nautch-girls who acted as prostitutes in the temples. They are harlots of a lower degree.

Śabdārthakalpataru cited in Śabd. (at *devastrī*) identifies the word *devadāsī* with the word *veśyā*. See *devaparicārikā*, No. 76.

Concerning the *devadāsī* see Appendix IV to Vol. I. The Ocean of Stories being C. H. TAWNEY'S translation of Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara* ed. by N. M. PANZER; Sylvian LEVI in "Grande Encyclopedie V.; R. SCHMIDT: *Liebe und Ehe im alten und modernen Indien;* HIRT'S *Die Hierodulen*, and many others.

K. considers that *devadāsī* who has ceased to attend the temples as a prostitute as well as other women like widows, cripple women, girls (*kanyā*), ascetic women (*pravrajitā*), women compelled to work in default of paying fines (*daṇḍapratikāriṇī*), mothers of prostitutes (*rūpājīvāmātṛkā*), old female servants of the king (*rājadāsī*), were compelled to be employed to cut wool, fibre, cotton, panicle, hemp and flax (K. 113/18-20).

76. DEVAPARICĀRIKĀ—*deva*° (God) + °*paricārikā* (servant). A servant of the gods, a prostitute of the gods, an Apsaras.

Śabd. (at *devadāsī*) considers the word *devaparicārikā* as identical with the words *veśyā* and *devadāsī*.

77. DEVAVEŚYĀ—*deva*° (God) + °*veśyā* (prostitute). A prostitute of the gods, an Apsaras.

There exists inter alia a division of *veśyā* into *rājaveśyā, nagarī, guptaveśyā, devaveśyā* and *brahmaveśyā* (*tīrthagā*). (See *Mahānirvāṇatantra* transl. by N. DUTT 1900, p. xxvii, cited by MEYER: *Das Weib im altindischen Epos*, Leipzig 1915, Chap. IX). See PISCHEL u. GELDNER, *Vedische Studien* (I.275). See also No 74.

**78. DVIRŪḌHĀ—*dvi*° (two, twice) + °*uḍhā* (wife). Married for the second time, a wife who had two husbands.

Hem. (525 a) considers the word *dvirūḍhā* as a synonym of the words *punarbhū, didhiṣū* (identically Hem. cited in Śabd. at *dvirūḍhā*). Śabd. (at *dvirūḍhā*) considers the word *dvirūḍhā* as a synonym of the word *dvivāravivāhitā*. As the synonym of the word *punarbhū* the word *dvirūḍhā* has in some cases the meaning of a special kind of a prostitute. See No. 79.

**79. DVIVĀRAVIVĀHITĀ—*dvivāra*° (twice) + *vivāha* (marriage). Married for the second time.

In Śabd. (at *dvirūḍhā*) the word *dvivāravivāhitā* is used as a synonym of the word *dvirūḍhā*.

As synonym of the word *punarbhū* the word *dvivāravivāhitā* has in some cases the meaning of a special kind of a prostitute. See No. 78.

DH.

80. DHARṢAṆI—from *dharṣ* (to be courageous, impudent). An impudent, a disorderly woman, a prostitute.

Saṁkṣiptasāroṇadivṛtti, cited in Śabd. (at *dharṣaṇi*) identifies the word *dharṣaṇi* with words *bandhaki* and *vṛṣalī*. See Nos. 81, 82, 83, 108.

81. DHARṢAṆĪ—from *dharṣ* (to be courageous, impudent). An impudent, a disorderly woman, a prostitute.

Amar. cited in Śabd. (at *dharṣaṇī*) identifies the word *dharṣaṇī* with the words *dharṣiṇī*, *asatī* (identically Amar. ed. by COLEBROOKE, Calcutta 1807, Nṛvarga 10 b, p. 43, v. 9-10). The word *dharṣaṇī* is also used as a synonym of the words *puṁścalī* (Amar. op. cit.), *kulaṭā* (Amar. op. cit. Hem. 529 a), *itvarī*, *vandhavī* (Amar. op. cit.), *avinītā* (Hem. op. cit. 528 b), *carṣaṇī* (Amar. op. cit.) and *bandhudā*, *kaiakūṇikā*, *lāṇḍhani*, *khaṇḍaśīlā*, *madananālikā*, *trilocanā*, and *manohāri* (all Hem. op. cit.). See Nos. 80, 82, 83, 108.

82. DHARṢIṆĪ—from *dharṣ* (to be courageous, impudent). An impudent, a disorderly woman, a prostitute.

The word *dharṣiṇī* is also quoted as a synonym of the words *dharṣaṇi* (Hem. 528 b. Amar. cited in Śabd. at *dharṣaṇī*) *carṣaṇī* (Hem. op. cit.), *varṣaṇī* (Hem. op. cit.), *puṁścalī* (Amar. cited in Śabd. at *carṣaṇī*), *pāṁśulā* (Hal. II-341), *kulaṭā* (Hal. op. cit.), *svairiṇī* (Hal. op. cit.), *asatī* (Amar. cited in Śabd. at *dharṣaṇī*), *avinītā* (Hal. op. cit., Hem. op. cit.), *baṁdhukī* (*bandhakī*) and *abhisārikā* (both Hal. op. cit.). See Nos. 80, 81, 83, 108.

83. DHARṢITĀ—from *dharṣ* (to be courageous, impudent). An impudent, a disorderly woman, a prostitute.

The word *dharṣitā* is also cited as synonym of the words *dhṛṣṭā* and *dūṣṭā* (*Śabdaratnāvalī* cited in Śabd. at *puṁścalī*), *puṁścalī* (op. cit.) and *asatī* (*Śabdaratnāvalī* cited in Śabd. at *dharṣitā*). See Nos. 80, 81, 82, 84, 108.

84. DHṚṢṬĀ—from *dharṣ* (to be courageous, impudent). An impudent, a disorderly woman, a prostitute.

According to *Śabdaratnāvalī* cited in Śabd. (at *puṁścalī*) the words *dharṣitā*, *puṁścalī* and *dūṣṭā* are quoted as synonyms of the word *dhṛṣṭā*. *Śabdaratnāvalī* cited in Śabd. (at *dhṛṣṭā*) considers the word *dhṛṣṭā* as a synonym of the word *asatī*. See Nos. 80, 81, 82, 83, 108.

N.

85. NAGARAMAṆḌANA—*nagara* (town) + °*maṇḍana* (ornament). An ornament of the town, a beauty of the town, a courtezan.

Subandhu speaking in *Vāsavadattā* of courtezans calls them also *nagaramaṇḍana*. (See Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracarita*, Leipzig, Introduction). See Nos. 86, 87.

86. NAGARAŚUBHAṆĪ—*nagara*° (town) + °*śubha* (beauty) A beauty of the town, a town-beauty, a courtezan.

I did not meet this word in the Sanskrit texts, but it can be supposed that such a word has existed because we find in Pali the word *nagarasobhiṇī*, *nagaraśobhanī*, *nagaraśobhanā* for a town-beauty (courtezan). (Jātaka Nr. 276, 419, 425 and others). See R. PISCHEL und K. GELDNER : *Vedische Studien*, Stuttgart 1889, Vol. I, p. 308-309). See Nos. 85, 86.

87. NAGARASYAVIBHŪṢAṆA—*nagara*° (town) + °*vibhūṣaṇa* (ornament). An ornament of the town, a beauty of the town, a courtezan.

In the seventh act of *Mṛcchakaṭika* Viṭa when asked by Saṁsthānaka why he killed Vasantasenā said she was a *veśyā* and a *nagarasyavibhūṣaṇa*. See Nos. 85, 86.

88. NAGARĪ—from *nagara* (town). A town-girl, a street walker.

There exists inter alia a division of *veśyā* into *rājaveśyā*, *nagarī*,

guptaveśyā, devaveśyā and *brahmaveśyā* (*tirthagā*). (See *Mahānirvāṇatantra* transl. by DUTT 1900 p. xxvii cited by J. J. MEYER: *Das Weib im altindischen Epos*. Leipzig 1915, Chap. IX).

*89. NAGNAYOṢIT—*nagna*° (naked) + °*yoṣit* (woman). A naked woman, a lascivious woman, a harlot.

Śabdaratnāvalī cited in Śabd. (at *nagnā*) uses the word *nagnayoṣit* as a synonym of the words *nagnā, nagnikā, koṭṭavī* and *koṭavī*.

**90. NAGNĀ—from *nagna* (naked). A naked, a lascivious girl, a prostitute. (A girl not yet in her puberty).

Śabdaratnāvalī cited in *Śabd.* (at *nagnā*) considers the word *nagnā* as a synonym of the words *nagnikā, nagnayoṣit, koṭṭavī*, and *koṭavī*, and Hem. (534 b) as a synonym of the word *kauṭavī*.

This word means rather a girl not yet in her puberty (before menstruation).

**91. NAGNIKĀ—from *nagna* (naked). A naked, a lascivious girl, a prostitute. (A girl not yet in her puberty).

Śabdaratnāvalī cited in Śabd. (at *nagnā*) considers the word *nagnikā* as a synonym of the words *nagnā, nagnayoṣit, koṭṭavī*, and *koṭavī* (identically Amar. Bombay 1894, v. 1107).

This word means rather a girl not yet in her puberty (before menstruation).

92. NAṬĪ—An actress, a prostitute.

Kām. (364/13-14) quoting nine kinds of *veśyā* mentions *naṭī* after *kumbhadāsī, paricārikā, kulaṭā*, and *svairiṇī* and before *śilpakārikā, prakāśavinaṣṭā, rūpājīvā* and *gaṇikā*. *Jayamaṅgalā* on Kām. on this quotation considers *naṭī* as a *raṅgayoṣit* (a woman of the theatre). Generally actors and actresses were considered as persons belonging to the lower classes. An actor was also considered as a man who makes profit on the beauty of his wife, i.e., from her prostitution. When viewed in this light *Śabdaratnāvalī* in Śabd. (at *naṭī*) as well as Amar. in Śabd. (at *kṣudrā*) are right considering the word *naṭī* as a synonym of the word *veśyā*. In this sense also *Kathāsaritsāgara* (*Tar.* 12) describes *Rūpaṇikā* alternatively with the words *gaṇikā, veśyā* and *naṭī*. Amar. in Śabd. (at *kṣudrā*) considers the word *naṭī* as a synonym of the words *vyaṅgā, kṣudrā*, etc. See also R. PISCHEL und K. F. GELDNER, *Vedische Studien*, Stuttgart 1897 (II-179).

Anaṅgaraṅga (fol. 14 a), *Pañcasāyaka* (IO 2526), *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (157), *Ratirahasya* (fol. 18 a) and others consider *naṭī* as persons suitable to be a *dūtī*.

*93. NIŚACĀRI—*niś*° (night) + °*cā*° (to move, to go, to walk, to wander). A woman wandering in the night, a female monster, a dissolute woman, a night walker, a prostitute.

Medini cited in Śabd. (at *kulaṭā*) considers the word *niśacārī* as a synonym of the word *kulaṭā*, *Jaṭādhara* cited in Śabd. (at *puṁścalī*) as a synonym of the words *tripāraṇḍā, laṅkā*, and *puṁścalī*, and *Hemacandra's Anekārthasaṁgraha* (Vienna-Bombay 1893-4, 264) as a synonym of the words *pāṁśulā*, etc. Especially as synonym of the word *puṁścalī*, etc., the word *niścārī*, can have the meaning of a prostitute.

P.

94. PAṆASTRĪ—*paṇa*° (concluded fixed income) + °*strī* (woman). A woman who lives on her income, a whore.

Vasantasenā speaking generally of courtezans in *Mṛcchakaṭika* (Act VII) makes alternatively use of the words *paṇastrī* (211/10) and *gaṇikā*. See No. 95.

95. PAṆĀṄGANĀ—*paṇa*° (concluded, fixed income) + °*aṅganā* (woman). A woman who lives on her income, a whore.

Hem. (532 b, 533 a) considers the word *paṇāṅganā* as a synonym of the words *veśyā, gaṇikā, rūpājīvā, paṇyāṅganā, vāravadhū, sādhāraṇastrī, bhujiṣyā,* and *lañjikā*, and Hemacandra's *Anekārthasaṁgraha* (4 64) places this word side by side with the word *puraṃpuṣṭā*. See No. 94

96. PAṆYAPURAṂDHRĪ—*paṇya*° (venal, a merchandise) + °*puraṃdhrī* (a married woman). A venal married woman, a whore who has a husband.

Amitagati's *Subhāṣitasaṁdoha* (XXIV-5, XXIV-25) uses for the word prostitute alternatively the words: *āpaṇanārī āpaṇayoṣa, veśyā, paṇyayoṣit, paṇyavanitā, dārikā* and *gaṇikā*. (Ch XXIV—"Warning against Attachment to Prostitutes"). See Nos. 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102.

97. PAṆYAYOṢĀ—*paṇya*° (venal, merchandise) + °*yoṣā* (woman). A venal (woman), a whore.

Medinī cited in Śabd. (at *bandhurā*) considers the word *paṇyayoṣā* as a synonym of the word *bandhurā* (identically Hemacandra's *Anekārthasaṁgraha* 575 b), and cited in Śabd. (at *barbaṭī*) considers it as a synonym of the word *barbaṭī*. See Nos. 96, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102.

98. PAṆYAYOṢIT—*paṇya*° (venal, merchandise) + °*yoṣit* (woman). Venal (woman), a whore.

Subhāṣitasaṁdoha in the chapter entitled "Warning against Attachment to Prostitutes" (XXIV-4, XXIV-6) uses for the word prostitute alternatively the words: *gaṇikā, veśyā, dārikā, āpaṇanārī, āpaṇayoṣā, paṇyapuraṁdhrī* and *paṇyavanitā*. Also in Mn. (IX-259) the word *paṇyayoṣit* is used in the sense of a whore, and the commentator on Mn.-Kullūka (*ad* Mn. IX-259) uses the word *paṇyastrī* as a synonym of the word *paṇyayoṣit*. See Nos. 96, 97, 99, 100, 101, 102.

99. PAṆYAVANITĀ—*paṇya*° (venal, merchandise) + °*vanitā* (woman). A venal (woman), a whore.

Subhāṣitasaṁdoha in the chapter entitled "Warning against Attachment to Prostitutes" (XXIV-16, XXIV-23, 24) uses for the word prostitute alternatively the words *gaṇikā, veśyā, dārikā, āpaṇayoṣā, āpaṇanārī, paṇyapuraṁdhrī* and *paṇyayoṣit*. See Nos. 96, 97, 98, 100, 101, 102.

*100. PAṆYAVILĀSINĪ—*paṇya*° (venal, merchandise) + °*vilāsinī* (a charming woman, a loose woman). A venal (woman), a vulgar maid, a loose maid, a common woman, a whore.

I met this word used in the sense of a loose maid in *Kathāsaritsāgara* (Tar. 19) in the tale about the King Brahmadatta's Minister—Yogaharaṇḍaka who presented a great many mares to the king Vatsa and among other things sent him was a *paṇyavilāsini*, as a poison girl (*rupakaṇyā*). See Nos. 96, 97, 98, 99, 101, 102.

101. PAṆYASTRĪ—*paṇya*° (venal, merchandise) + °*strī* (woman). A venal (woman), a whore.

Kośantara cited in Śabd. (at *paṇyastrī*) considers the word *veśyā* as a synonym of the word *paṇyastrī*. Kullūka commenting Mn. (IX-259) makes use of this word instead of the word *paṇyayoṣit*. I met this word used in the sense of a whore in *Hitopadeśa* (ed. SCHLEGEL) II-23 and by Bhartṛhari (cited in BOEHTLINGK'S *Indische Sprueche*, Vol. I-967) etc. See Nos. 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 102.

102. PAṆYĀṄGANĀ—*paṇya*° (venal, merchandise) + °*aṅganā* (woman). A venal (woman), a whore.

Hem. (532 b-533 a) considers the word *paṇyāṅganā* as a synonym of the words *veśyā* (identically Hal. II-335), *gaṇikā* (identically Hal. II-335), *rūpājīvā* (identically Hal. II-335), *paṇāṅganā*, *sādhāraṇastrī*, *bhujiṣyā*, *lañjikā*, and *vāravadhū*. Hal. (II-335) further quotes the words *vārastrī*, *vāramukhyā* and *kṣudrā*.

In Bhartṛhari's *Nīti* and *Vairāgyaśatakas* (Bombay 1923) I met this word used in the sense of a whore (*Vair.* 66). See Nos. 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101.

**103. PARAKĪYĀ—A woman who belongs to another person.

Parakiyā is either a girl (*kanyakā*) or a married woman (*paroḍhā*). (*Rudraṭa*, *Kāvyālaṁkāra*—XII-30, *Rudraṭa*, *Śṛṅgāratilaka*—I-87, *Daśarūpaka*—II-20-21, *Vāgbhaṭa*, *Kāvyānuśāsana*—62, *Sāhityadarpaṇa*—108-110, *Vāgabhaṭālaṁkāra*—V-14, *Rasamañjarī*—fol. 23 sqq. *Rasaratnahāra* 20-22). *Rasaratnahāra* (23) on other places declares that *parakīyā* may be *vidagdhā*, *muditā*, *anuśayānā*, *lakṣitā*, *guptā* or *kulaṭā*. The latter (*kulaṭā*) "desires several men and has to be considered as a prostitute". (*Rasaratnahāra*—27). Such a *parakīyā-kuḷaṭā* is therefore equal to a *veśyā*. (See also *Rasamañjarī*, fol. 23-28).

104. PARAPUṢṬĀ—a person supported by another, a prostitute.

Medinī cited in Śabd. (at *parapuṣṭā*) considers the word *parapuṣṭā* as a synonym of the word *veśyā*. Hemacandra's *Anekārthasaṁgraha* (Vienna-Bombay, 4, 64) places the word *parapuṣṭā* side by side with the word *paṇāṅganā*.

105. PARICĀRIKĀ—*pari*° + *cārikā* (servant). A servant, a prostitute.

Kām. (364/13-14) quoting nine kinds of *veśyā* mentions *paricārikā* immediately after *kumbhadāsi* and before *kulaṭā*, *svairiṇī*, *naṭī*, *śilpakārikā*, *prakāśavinaṣṭā*, *rūpājīvā* and *gaṇikā*. A fuller explanation is given by Jayamaṅgalā, the commentator on Kām. (363-17) as follows: *paricārikā yāh svāminaṁ paricarantī*. "These ones who are called *paricārikā* serve the master." They are not free persons as it is evident from Kām. (365-12 sqq.), where we read that "a servant who learns and educates herself in her early years should be isolated by her master from the others for one year. Afterwards her master may give her to the bidder who offers more and who desires her knowing that the girl has been isolated. This increases the liking." *Paricārikā* is, therefore, the property of her master. (See also Mbh. I-3353). However, she is a *veśyā* as she "excites men with desire." (Kām. 68/19-20). According to Ghoṭakamukha (cited in Kām. 67/19 sqq.) an *ananyapūrvā gaṇikāyā duhitā* (courtezan's daughter who is not deflorated), or an *ananyapūrva paricārikā* (*paricārikā* who is not deflorated) have to be visited seventh among strange women. That she is an inferior prostitute is obvious from the fact that she is a slave and that "the love of eunuchs" was applied to them and to *kumbhadāsī*. (Kām. 184/3-4).

*106. PĀṀŚULĀ—from *pāṁśula* (dusty). A dissolute woman, a wanton woman, a prostitute.

This word is considered as a synonym of the following words: *puṁścalī* (*Medinī* edited by COLEBROOKE, Calcutta 1807—*Lāntavarga* 107 b. p. 149, v. 15-16; Hem. 528-529, Hemacandra's *Anekārthasaṁgraha*, Vienna-Bombay 1893—3,658; Hal. II-341), *bandhakī* (Hemacandra's *Dhātupāṭha*, Vienna-Bombay 1901, IX-45; Hem. 528-529), *svairiṇī* (Amar. ed. COLEBROOKE, Calcutta 1807, *Nṛvarga*, p. 43, v. 10; Hem. 528-529; Hal.

II-341), *kulaṭā* (Hem. 528-529 ; Hal. II-341), *bamdhuki* (Hal. II-341), *carṣaṇī* (Hem. 528-529), *dharṣiṇī* (Hal. II-341), *itvarī* (Hem. 528-529 ; Hal. II-341), *avinītā* (Hem. 528-529, Hal. II-341), *asatī* (Hem. 528-529, Hal. II-341), and *abhisārikā* (Hal. II-341).

As a synonym of the words *kulaṭā, svairiṇī* etc. the word *pāṁśulā* has also in some cases the meaning of a prostitute.

**107. PUNARBHŪ—a woman married for the second time.

This word does not mean—as a rule—a prostitute, and is rather erroneously imputed as "common woman" (*sāmānyā, sādhāraṇa ri*) along with the word *svairiṇī* by *Sarasvatikaṇṭhābharaṇa* V-212/113, *Agnipurāṇa* 338, 41). (See also Vās. XVII-16). The word *punarbhu* is used in many texts in the sense of a woman married for the second time. (See Mn. IX-176, Y. I-67, Viṣ. XV-8/9, Vās. XVII-20, B. II-2, 3, 27, N. XII-45/46. Kām. 186-25, 242-4, 309-18, etc.).

108. PUṀŚCALĪ—*pumams*° (man) + °*ca*° (to move, to run). A woman running after men, a prostitute This word is very often used in literature, especially in the meaning "a woman running after men."

This word is used in the meaning of a prostitute in K. (184-10) where the question of payment to the *puṁścalī* for the sexual intercourses with a man is expressly mentioned : *Labheta puṁścalī bhogaṁ saṅgamayopalinganāt, atiyācñā tu jiyeta daurmatyāvinayena vā.* In poetry the word *puṁścalī* is being identified with the words *kulaṭā* and *bandhakī* (*Pañcatantra*—Bombay 1896, Kathā. 4, p. 31 sqq., Book III, 12, 4 ; III-17 and others) as well as with the word *svairiṇī*. *Brahmavaivarta-Purāṇa* Prakṛti-Khaṇḍa) considers *puṁścalī* as a person having four lovers and quotes this word after the words *kulaṭā* and *vṛṣalī* and before the word *veśyā*.

The lexicographers consider the word *puṁścalī* as a synonym of the words *pāṁśulā* (*Medinī*, edited COLEBROOKE 1807, p. 149, v. 107 b, Hem. 528-529, Hal. II-341), *kulaṭā* (Amar. cited in Śabd. at *puṁścalī*, Hem. 528-529, Hal. II-341), *svairiṇī* (Hem. 528-529, Hal. II-341), *bandhakī* (Hem. 528-529), *bamdhuki* (*bandhuki*) (Hal. II-341), *bandhavī* (Amar. cited in *Śabd.* at *puṁścalī*), *avinītā* (Hem. 528-529, Hal. II-341), *itvarī* (Amar. cited in Śabd. at *puṁścalī*, Hem. 528-529, Hal. III-341) *carṣaṇī* (Hem. 528-529), *dharṣaṇī*, Amar. cited in Śabd. at *puṁścalī*), *dharṣiṇī* (Amar. cited in Śabd. at *dharṣiṇī*, Hal. II-341), *dharṣitā* (*Śabdaratnāvalī* cited in Śabd. at *puṁścalī*), *dhṛṣṭā* (*Śabdaratnāvalī* cited in Śabd. at *puṁścalī*), *dūṣṭā* (*Śabdaratnāvalī* cited in Śabd. at *puṁścalī*), *abhisārikā* (Hal. II-341), *laṅkā* (*Jaṭādhara* cited in Śabd. at *puṁścalī*), *niścārī* (*Jaṭādhara* cited in Śabd. at *puṁścalī*), *trapāraṇḍā* (*Jaṭādhara* cited in Śabd. at *puṁścalī*).

This word is often cited in both meanings in *Hitopadeśa* (ed. SCHLEGEL II-101), *Pañcatantra* (Bombay 1896) and other fables and was quoted even in *Avesta* (15, 2). See H. ZIMMER : *Altindischen Leben—Berlin* 1879, Ch. XII).

Puṁścalī is regarded as an inferior person therefore her food becomes impure. (See Mn. IV-211, 220, G. XVIII-17, Vās. XIV-2 and others).

109. PUṀŚCALŪ—Identical with *puṁścalī*. A woman running after men, a prostitute.

The word *puṁścalū* is cited in this sense in *Vājaseneyi-Saṁhitā* (edited by Dr. Albrecht WEBER, Berlin-London 1852) and *Kātyāyana's Śrautasūtrāṇi* (13, 3, 6). See BOEHTLINGK'S und ROTH'S *Sanskrit-Woerterbuch*, (St. Petersburg 1865, p. 750).

**110. Poṭā—a servant, a slave, a prostitute.
Hem. (534 a), as well as Hal. (II-337) consider (the word *poṭā* as a synonym of the words *dāsī*. *voṭā*, *ceṭī*, and *kuṭṭahārikā*.
As a synonym of the word *dāsī* the word *poṭā* may, as an exception, be used in the sense of a prostitute.

111. Prakāśanārī—*prakāśa*° (public) + °*nārī* (woman). A public woman, a prostitute.
I met this expression in *Mṛcchakaṭika* (Act III, Vol. II-6). The author in the course of a talk about the deposit entrusted by Vasantasenā uses also the word *prakāśanārī* for the word "courtezan" (*gaṇikā*). The commentary (catalogued sub No. 167, WILSON A. Cathalogue No. 250) makes alternative use of the words *veśyā* and *prakāśanārī*.

112. Prakāśavinaṣṭā—*prakāśa*° (public) + °*vinaṣṭā* (from *vi*° + °*niṣ* ruined, fallen, wretched). An openly corrupted woman.
Kām. (364/13-14) quoting nine kinds of *veśyā* mentions *prakāśavinaṣṭā* after *kumbhadāsī*, *paricārikā*, *kulaṭā*, *svairiṇī*, *naṭī*, and *śilpakārikā* and before *rūpājīvā*, and *gaṇikā*. A fuller explanation is given by *Jayamaṅgalā*, the commentator on Kām. (363/20-21) as follows : *Prakāśavinaṣṭā yā jivati mṛte vā patyau saṁgrahaṇadharmeṇa gṛhitā kāmacāraṁ pravartate.* (A wife who being won according to the rules of inclination is subservient to her lust in her husband's life time or after his death).

113. Pratigaṇikā—*prati*° (towards, back, for, substituting for) + °*gaṇikā* (courtezan). A substitute courtezan.
In this sense I met this word only in K. (123/10, 123/12). In case of need she is a substitute for a *gaṇikā*. If a courtezan, being protected by the guardian of courtezans, goes abroad or dies her daughter or sister shall act for her and receive her property and salary. *Tanmātā vā pratigaṇikāṁ sthāpayet.* (Or her mother i.e. a procuress may substitute a *pratigaṇikā* (K. 123-12). Such a *pratigaṇikā* has to receive only half the amount of the salary which belonged to the *gaṇikā* (K. 123-9).
I met this word also in Kām. (345-3) but rather in the sense of "another courtezan".

*114. Pramādaracanā—from *pramad*° (to rejoice, wanton). A wanton woman, a prostitute.
The word *pramādaracanā* is cited in *Śabdaratnāvalī* in Śabd.. See No. 148.

*115. Pramādikā—from *pramad*° (to rejoice, wanton). A wanton woman, a prostitute.
The word *pramādikā* is cited in *Śabdaratnāvalī* in Śabd.. See No. 148.

B.

*116. Bandhakī—from *bandh*° (to bound, to chain). A woman who has intercourse with a great many men, a wanton women, a prostitute.
In the literature this word appears very often especially in the sense of an unchaste woman. However, that is not synonymous with the word "prostitute".
It is obvious from *Pañcatantra* (I, Kathā 4) that this word is equivalent to the word *puṁścalī* and *kulaṭā* (alternatively used) and according to *Pañcatantra* (III, Kathā 11) is equivalent to the word *puṁścalī*.
Kām. (60/14) describes the word *bandhakī* as follows : *Tathā ca*

pañcatitā bandhakīti parāśaraḥ (A woman who has got over five men is called *bandhakī*,.

Hem. (528-529) identifies the word *bandhakī* with the words *puṁścalī* (identically Śabd. at *kulaṭā* and *bandhakī*), *pāṁśulā* (identically Hemacandra's *Dhātupāṭha*, Vienna-Bombay 1901), *kulaṭā* (identically Śabd. at *kulaṭā*), *svairiṇī* (identically Śabd. at *svairiṇī*), *avinītā*, *asatī*, *itvarī*, and *carṣaṇī*. The word *bandhakī* is identified in *Saṁkṣiptasāroṇadivṛtti* (cited in Śabd. at *dharṣaṇī*) with the word *dharṣaṇa*, and *vṛṣala*, and with the word *dharṣiṇī* in Śabd. (cited at *kulaṭā*).

In some cases the word *bandhakī* has also the meaning of a prostitute. This is also obvious from the fact that K. makes use of the word *bandhaki* in conjunction with the word *poṣaka* (*bandhakīpoṣaka*— guardian of prostitutes). (See K. 374-41, 378-1, 382-17).

**117. BANDHAVĪ—(*vandhavī*, *vaṁdhavī*). From *bandh* (to bound, to chain). A woman who has intercourse with a great many men, a wanton woman, a prostitute.

Amar. (edited by COLEBROOKE, Calcutta 1807, Nānārvarga 10 b, p. 43, v. 9, 10) identifies the word *bandhavī* (*vandhavī*) with the words *puṁścalī*, *kulaṭā*, *dharṣaṇī*, *asatī*, and *itvarī*. See No. 116.

**118. BANDHUKĪ—(*baṁdhukī*, *bandhakī*, *vaṁdhukī*, *vaṁdhukī*). From *bandh* (to bound, to chain). A woman who has intercourse with a great many men, a wanton woman, a prostitute.

Hal. (II-341) identifies the word *bandhukī* (*vaṁdhukī*) with the words *puṁścalī*, *pāṁśulā*, *kulaṭā*, *svairiṇī*, *asatī*, *avinītā*, *abhisārikā*, *itvarī* and *dharṣiṇī*. See Nos. 116, 154.

**119. BANDHUDĀ—from *bandh* (to bound, to chain). A woman who has intercourse with a great many men, a wanton woman, an unchaste woman, a prostitute.

Hem. (ad 529 a) identifies the word *bandhudā* with the words *kulaṭā*, *dharṣaṇī*, *kalakūṇikā*, *lāṇdhanī*, *khaṇḍaśīlā*, *madanapālikā*, *trilocanā* and *manohārī*. See No. 116.

120. BANDHURĀ— A charming woman, a beauty, possessing a *vulva*, a whore.

Śabdamālā cited in Śabd. (at *veśyā*) identifies the word *bandhurā* with the words *veśyā*, *lañjikā*, *kumbhā*, *kāmarekhā*, *varvatī* (*varvvatī*, *barbatī*), and *Medinī* cited in Śabd. (at *bandhakī*) with the word *paṇyayoṣā*. In the sense of a whore this word is cited also in R. PISCHEL and K. F. GELDNER—*Vedische Studien*, (Stuttgart 1889 Vol. I, pp. 308-309). See also Hemacandra's *Anekārthasaṁgraha* (Vienna-Bombay 1893, 3, 574-575).

121. BARBATĪ or BARBBATĪ, also *varvatī* and *varvvatī*. A prostitute.

Śabdamālā cited in Śabd. (at *veśyā*) identifies the word *barbatī* (*barbbatī*, *varvatī*) with the words *veśyā*, *bandhurā*, *lañjikā*, *kumbhā*, and *kāmarekhā*, and *Medinī* cited in Śabd. (at *bandhakī*) with the word *paṇayoṣā*. See also Hemacandra's *Anekārthasaṁgraha* (Vienna-Bombay 1893, 3, 156).

122. BRAHMAVEŚYĀ—*brahma*° + °*veśyā* (prostitute). A bath-prostitute.

It is rather a description of a prostitute than a synonym. There exists *inter alia* a division of *veśyā* into *rājaveśyā*, *nagarī*, *guptaveśyā*, *devaveśyā* and *brahmaveśyā* (*tīrthagā*). See *Mahānirvāṇatantra* transl. by N. DUTT 1900, p. XXVII, cited by J. J. MEYER : *Das Weib im Altindischen Epos*, Leipzig 1915, chap. IX).

BH.

123. BHAṆḌAHĀSINĪ—*bhaṇḍa*° (jester caste) + °*hās*° (to shine, exhibit splendour). A woman shining jesting, or from the *bhaṇḍa* caste, a prostitute.

Śabdaratnāvalī cited in Śabd. (at *veśyā*) identifies the word *bhandahāsinī* with the words *veśyā, vāravilāsinī, vāravāṁ, śūlā,* and *jharjharā.*

124. BHUJIṢYĀ—from *bhuj* (enjoy). A girl for enjoyment, a servant, a slave, a servant depending on another person, a prostitute.

Hem. (532) identifies the word *bhujiṣyā* with the words *veśyā, gaṇikā,* (identically *Medinī* in Śabd. at *bhujiṣyā*), *rūpājīvā, sādhāraṇastrī, paṇyāṅganā, paṇāṅganā, lañjikā* and *vāravadhū* and *Medinī* with the word *dāsī.* See also Hemacandra's *Anekārthasaṁgraha* (Vienna-Bombay 1893, 3, 490) and Hemacandra's *Dhātupāṭha* (Vienna-Bombay 1901, VII-15).

**125. BHṚMI—vivid, lively, a prostitute.

Śabdaratnāvalī in Śabd. (at *pāṁśulā*) identifies the word *bhṛmi* with the words *pāṁśulā* and *kulaṭā.*

126. BHOGYĀ—from *bhuj* (to enjoy), or from *bhoga* (fee owing a prostitute for sexual intercourse). A woman, who lives on enjoyment, a person who receives fee for love, a harlot.

Rājanighaṇṭu cited in Śabd. (at *veśyā*) identifies the word *bhogyā* with the words *veśyā* and *smaravīthikā.* See also Hemacandra's *Dhātupāṭha* (Vienna-Bombay 1901, VIII-15).

M.

127. MAÑJIKĀ—from *mañj* (a flower bouquet). A courtezan.

Hār. (ed. by COLEBROOKE, 144 b. p. 12) considers *mañjikā* and *vārasundarī* as persons who acted as they please. Hār. cited in Śabd. (at *mañjikā*) identifies the word *mañjikā* with the word *veśyā.*

**128. MADANANĀLIKĀ—*madana*° (love, god of love) + °*nālika* (arrow, the stalk of a lotus).

The arrow of the god of love, an unfaithful woman, a prostitute.

Hem. (ad 529 a) identifies the word *madananālikā* with the words: *kulaṭā, bandhudā, kalakūṇikā, dharṣaṇī, lāṇḍhanī, khaṇḍaśīlā, trilocanā,* and *manohārī.*

129. MADHYAMAGAṆIKĀ—*madhyama*° (middle) + °*gaṇikā* (courtezan). Courtezan of middle degree.

The word *madhyamagaṇikā* is not a synonym but rather characterises a courtezan. For each *veśyā, gaṇikā, rūpājīvā, kumbhadāsī,* etc. can be either an *adhamagaṇikā* or an *uttamagaṇikā* or a *madhyamagaṇikā. Vividhā veśyā gaṇikā rūpājīvā kumbhadāsī ca, tāḥ pratyekamuttamamadhyamādhamabhedātrividhāḥ* (Kām. 347-7 *Jayamaṅgalā*). Identically *Rudraṭa, Śṛṅgāratilaka* (I-104), *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (122), *Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra* (XXIII-34).

The *madhyamagaṇikā* is such a person who compared with the *adhamagaṇikā* possesses only half the qualities of the latter (Kām. 347-17, *Jayamaṅgalā* 348-15). Her qualities are differently described in Rudraṭa *Śṛṅgāratilaka* (I-158), *Bhāratiyanāṭyaśāstra* (XXIII-38-39), *Śukasaptati* t.s. (p. 163), *Rasaratnahāra* (43c/d). The regulations concerning the *lābhātiśaya* (special earning) have to be applied to them (Kām. 348-16 etc.).

*130. MANOHĀRĪ—from *manas*° (intellect, spirit) + °*hā*° (carrying). An unfaithful woman, a prostitute.

Hem. (ad 529 a) identifies the word *manohārī* with the words *kulaṭā, bandhudā, kalakūṇikā, dharṣaṇī, lāṇḍhanī, khaṇḍaśīlā, trilocanā,* and *madananālikā.*

131. MALEKHĀ—from *mal*° (bad) + °*ikh* (to move, to act). An ill behaving woman, a wanton woman, a prostitute.

Hem. (533) identifies the word *malekhā* with the words *veśyā*, *khagālikā*, *cāravāṁkā* and *kṣudrā*.

132. MAHĀNAGNĪ—*mahā*° (great) + °*nagna* (naked). A wholly naked girl, a quite naked, lascivious (wanton) girl, a prostitute.

We meet this word in *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* (I-27) as well as in *Avesta* (20, 136, 5 ; 14, 1, 36), cited in H. ZIMMER'S *Altindisches Leben*, (Berlin 1879, Ch. XII). See No. 90.

133. MAHĀVEŚYĀ—*mahā*° (great) + °*veśyā* (prostitute). A great prostitute.

Several times this word is quoted in *Brahmavaivarta-Purāṇa, Prakṛti-Khaṇḍa* in the sense of a woman who has more than eight lovers.

134. MĀṆAVIKĀ—from *māṇava*° (a young boy a lad) A young girl, a street-walker, a prostitute.

The word *māṇavikā* is quoted in this sense by Pāṇini (3, 4, 72).

*135. MUKTĀ—from *muc*° (to let loose, to get rid, to release). A released woman, a prostitute.

Hemacandra's *Anekārthasaṁgraha* (ed. Vienna, Bombay, 4, 184), places the word *muktā* side by side with the word *puṁścalī*.

Y.

136. YUṄGĪ—a prostitute of an inferior kind.

I met this word several times only in *Brahmavaivarta-Purāṇa, Prakṛti-Khaṇḍa* in the sense of a prostitute who has 7 to 8 lovers.

Yungī is quoted after *kulaṭā, vṛṣalī, puṁścalī* and *veśyā*.

R.

**137. RAṄGOPAJĪVĀ—*raṅga*° (stage, theatre) + °*upajīv*° (to sustain oneself, the means of living).

A woman who earns her living from the theatre, an actress, a prostitute.

Actors and actresses were considered persons of an inferior sort. Especially actresses were regarded as persons who obtain their living through their beauty (tricks) (K. 125/14-16). K. explains that *raṅgopajīvā* like *gaṇikā* and *dāsī* have not to pay for their education to the king's court (*rājamaṇḍala*) if they know a variety of tricks. That K. in using the word *raṅgopajīvā* intended to denote a certain class of prostitutes only, is obvious not only from the combination of the words *gaṇikā, dāsī* and *raṅgopajīvā* but also from the fact that all these persons have to study "the knowledges of public women" (*vaiśikakalājñāni*). (K. 125-14).

138. RAJAKHALĀ—*raja*° (a washerman) + °*khala* (a wretch, a bad man).

A washerman's wretched woman, a prostitute, who belongs to (or who comes from) the washerman (or washerman's caste).

Rājanighaṇṭu cited in Śabd. (at *pāṁśulā*) identifies the word *rajakhalā* with the word *pāṁśulā*. See Śabd. (at *vṛśalī*). Washermen like actors and others were considered as persons who live on the beauty of their wives.

139. RAṬĀYANĪ—*rata*° (coitus) + °*ayana* (way, going). A woman destined for sexual intercourse, a prostitute.

Śabdamālā cited in Śabd. (at *ratāyanī*) considers the word *ratāyanī* as a synonym of the word *veśyā*.

**140. RĀJAPREṢYĀ—*rāja*° (king) + °*preṣyā* (female servant). A king's female servant, a female servant belonging to the king, a prostitute.

I came across this expression in K. only (241-16); there we read that the *bandhakīpoṣaka* (the guardian of prostitutes) has with the help of the *rājapreṣyā* i.e. of the prostitutes belonging to the king, to collect for the treasury as they (i.e. the *rājapreṣyā*) are like officials of the sovereign. This may also mean that the *bandhakīpoṣaka* has with the help of a female servant of the king (who acts as a prostitute) to collect for the treasury for the king.

141. RĀJAVEŚYĀ—*rāja*° (king) + °*veśyā*, (prostitute). A king's harlot i.e. a prostitute who belongs to the king.

There exists *inter alia* a division of *veśyā* into *rājaveśyā*, *nagarī*, *guptaveśyā*, *devaveśyā* and *brahmaveśyā* (*tīrthagā*). (See *Mahānirvāṇatantra*, transl. by N. DUTT 1900, p. XXVII, cited by J. J. MEYER : *Das Weib im altindischen Epos*, Leipzig 1915, Chap. IX). As a prostitute who belongs to the king she was probably not a free person.

142. RĀTRIPRIYĀ—*rātri*° (night) + °*priy*° (liking, liking lovers). A woman who likes the night, who has many lovers during the night, a night-walker, a prostitute.

In *Śukasaptati* we find a story about a Brahman unrestrained in his desire for sexual intercourse who concludes an agreement with the procuress of a prostitute called either *rātripriyā* or *vāravilāsinī* for the whole night (t.o. I.V.). From the combination of the words *rātripriyā* and *vāravilāsinī* it is clear that *rātripriyā* must be a prostitute of a lower degree.

(*To be continued.*)

SATYASAMHITĀ—A FURTHER STUDY*

By

Prof. A. S. GOPANI, M A.

Recapitulation

IN MY previous article that appeared in the last issue of this Journal, I had made a statement to the effect that the Satyasamhitā was not a work of purely astrological nature but that its author, Satyācārya, had a divine vision which also helped him in his predictions.[1] This statement though warranted by Satyasamhitā itself[2] has an obvious danger of being misinterpreted in the sense that one should not be enthusiastic about undertaking the scientific studies of the horoscopes interpreted according to the Satyasamhitā. The main purpose of this article is to remove such a misunderstanding and to inspire those interested to justify, on purely astrological grounds, the readings of the horoscopes done by Satyācārya in his Satyasamhitā. This attitude towards the Satyasamhitā will at least have a sure practical advantage of intensifying our studies and making them as comprehensive as possible. I admit, I had somewhat underrated, in my previous article, the serious character of the Satyasamhitā[3]. But after dispassionate study of the problem of Samhitā branch of the Jyotish literature, I find I will have to revise my judgment.

The subject of the studies which I have presented here in this article is furnished by the Satyasamhitā reading of the horoscope given below. With a view to forming an impartial estimate of the Satyasamhitā I intend to discuss it here in the light of my knowledge and experience as regards Predictive Astrology.

* I fully agree with Mr. K. M. K. Sarma in the reasoning employed by him to prove that Satyācārya, the author of the *Satyasamhitā*, is different from that Satya who is referred to by Utpala in his commentary on the *Bṛhajjātaka* of Varāhamihira (see his article "The Samhita Literature of Astrology" published in the July issue of *New Indian Antiquary*, 1943, p. 90). On my part I also make it clear again that it is not my immediate object to discuss the date or place of this Satyācārya in view of the fact that there is no sufficient material to attempt it. Further, I have no reason at all to differ from Mr. Sarma regarding his meaning of the word 'Samhitā' (*Ibid*). So far as these articles of mine are concerned, my only motive is to test the categorical predictions of the *Satyasamhitā* with the touch-stone of scientific researches made uptill now in this direction and thus to assess its value. The word "Samhitā' used here in this article has the broad sense of any methodically arranged collection of verses.

[1] See my article "Satyasamhitā and Gandhiji's Horoscope", *BV*, Vol. 4 : Pt. I, p. 67.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 69, St. 20.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 63.

A plea for Astrology

The question of questions is whether life is an accident or it is governed, shaped and regulated by laws? Suppose we grant that life is ordered, what about its bewildering intricacies and complications? Man has been always attempting to find out some semblance of government behind this strange drama, though every time he really did nothing more than look at the infinite through a minute hole in the wall. It is a paradox that sciences must make mistakes, must have pitfalls, must grope in the darkness and still must persistently go on. Discoveries and speculations; errors and corrections; formulations and revisions—these must eternally go on.

No one is wise enough to criticise or comment. Time is not still ripe to compare the results of various sciences and if astrology has anything to say on the point, let us not discard it.

Law of Causation is the Law of laws. There is cosmos, order. Our knowledge of the universe bears testimony to the facts that it is a whole and that there is an amazing co-ordination between its various parts. The Solar system also is no exception to this and the Earth we live on is controlled and conditioned by the actions and interactions. Thus there is complete rhythm between our affairs on this earth and the movements of the planets in the Solar system. These coincidences were fully investigated and the rules were deduced. They enable us to forecast events and occurrences. Inasmuch as we are parts and parcels of the Earth, these laws apply to us also. This establishes the only conclusion that our life can pass without any hitch so long as it moves in unison with the universe. It is the claim of Astrology to find out rules and laws that can help us in achieving this uniformity, call it co-ordination, rhythm or harmony.

Astrology is a science and not an art. This is my main deduction in this article as opposed to one assayed in my last article. I am sure this will not find ready acceptance from some who still maintain, as I formerly did, that the practice of Astrology depends upon the possession of supernatural powers and that only on this account it should better remain a sealed book to those not privileged. Satyācārya himself has stated that he has based his prediction partly on Yoga. I deny this claim and try to pursue the subject with a more scientific precision and thoroughness. It is now my conviction—and all will agree that it is a right one—that any subject which does not stand scientific scrutiny should not be deemed worthy of even a moment's thought at least in this age.

The talk about the origin and development of this science is bound to be idle and uninteresting. We should be modest to admit that such a full-fledged science has its roots in pre-historic times. It is not out of place to quote here the opinion of Dr. Richard Garnett, the famous director of the British Museum, who once declared regarding the precision of Astrology that "Astrology, with the single exception of Astronomy, as regards the certainty of its data, is the most exact of all the exact sciences."

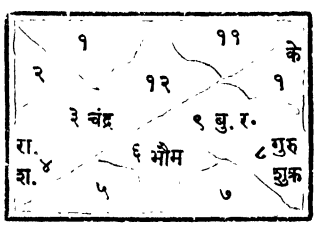
At the same time it also must be cleared that Astrology is not a cent

per cent correct science. Like other sister sciences it has also a leeway of error. Astrologers have a great distance still to cover. Test of actual experience weighs in favour of Astrology the claim of which is more than answered by a demand, increasing day by day that it should, because it can, make forecasts and estimates.

Its scope and limitations

It is with the involuntary settling of the individual frame, called Birth, that we are concerned here. Thus the much-needed requirement is a chart in Astrology : the Natal chart. There are other kinds of charts, analogous in appearance but differing in objects because Astrology is not merely concerned with the man ; it endeavours to legislate for all men. There are actually five principal divisions and many more subsidiary ones. Natal Astrology is confined with the Individual. Horary Astrology is concerned with the answering of questions of immediate interest and import. Mundane Astrology is devoted to communities, races and nations. Astro-meteorology deals with weather problems and Astro-Therapeutics with medical science.

The horoscope[4] *and the Summary of the Satyasaṁhitā reading*



Summary :—

The native is born in the Dhruvāṁśa of the Mīnalagna in a city which is situated on the bank of a river. He will be a Brāhmin by birth and a devotee of Hari and Shankar. His birth will be a cause of happiness to his parents. He will be white-complexioned and skilled in the knowledge of the ways of the world. He will neither be very fat nor very lean. He will settle in a very big town (See the फलादेश appended at the end, Sts. 1-7).

He will be a multi-millionaire because Mars the lord of the second is in Virgo in the seventh and the Dhaneśa is in the Kendra and the Lagneśa is in the ninth. From twenty-fifth onwards he will begin to earn and his average annual income will then be nearly a lac. He will be raising the status of Sanskrit and the vernaculars. His family members and dependants will always be protected by him. He will be adept in the art of debates and

[4] This is the horoscope of one who is one of the makers of modern Gujarat as well as a luminary in a legal profession and the literary field. He is also one of the first-rate political leaders. The date of birth is 30-12-1887 and the time of birth is 12.7 noon (Madras Time).

a first-rate literary man as the second house is aspected by its lord (Sts. 8-14).

Because Venus, the lord of the third, is in Scorpio, he will have no brothers though he will have two sisters, one elder and the other, younger. He will be enterprising, bold and shrewd and will be occasionally angry also but his actions will never be activated by anger. He will be virtuous, patriotic, will serve the country, will have kings and kinglike people as his friends and will be of wide fame (Sts. 15-21).

His mother will be meritorious and long-lived as Mercury, the lord of the fourth, is in Sagittarius in the Ukṣāmśa. He will be associated with his maternal uncle and be happy through him. When he will be passing through the direction of Mercury, he will have bungalows, good gardens, cars etc. and will also fly in aeroplanes. He will be broad-minded, pure-hearted and generous; will mean what he thinks and will act as he thinks. He will not be surpassed by any members of his family (Sts. 22-26).

He will have a plenty of sons and daughters, six in all, as Moon, the lord of the fifth, is in Gemini in the Kumbhāmśa. Two sons and three daughters will survive; the rest will die while passing through the directions of the wicked planets (Sts. 27-31).

He will get occasional sicknesses but will have no enemies as Sun, the lord of the sixth, is in Sagittarius (St. 32).

The lord of the seventh which is in the Kendra and Mars which is in the seventh indicate that he will have two wives, one from his own caste and the other from the other. The second wife will be a learned and a famous lady. Both will have children. He will marry the second wife after the death of the first (Sts. 33-36).

The native will neither be short-lived nor long-lived as Venus, the lord of the seventh, is in Scorpio with Jupiter. He will get abscess at the age of sixty when running through the direction of Mercury. At about the age of fifty also, he will be attacked with illness (Sts. 37-40).

As Jupiter is in the ninth, he will be cent per cent lucky. His fate, which will begin to operate after twenty-five, will go on progressing thenceforth. He will be religious-minded, merciful and will possess some knowledge of clairvoyance (Sts. 41-42).

He will be a solicitor or a barrister (or an advocate) or a magistrate; will devote himself to doing good deeds for the country and will be instrumental in removing troubles and tribulations of the country (Sts. 43-44).

He will live within his means (Sts. 45-47).

He will be born when the direction of Rāhu had six years and four months to complete. In this Daśā, he will be somewhat afflicted with illness; will have one sister and will be put to school (Sts. 48-50).

The direction of Jupiter will be marked by his progress in studies at school, marriage, father's death in the sub-period of Ketu followed later by his son's death in the sub-period of Rāhu (Sts. 51-56).

In the direction of Saturn, he will be well-versed in नीतिशास्त्र at twenty-two ; will study law at twenty-five and before thirty he will be a famous advocate. He will get monetary benefits, bungalows and cars and will enjoy life like anything. He will get sons and daughters, fame and leadership and become a very flourishing advocate in the sub-periods of Mercury and Ketu. In the sub-period of Rāhu, his wife will die while in delivery. He will take to second marriage very soon (Sts. 57-67).

Following events will take place in his life when he will be running through the Daśā of Mercury :—

(*a*) Before forty-five in the sub-period of Ketu his wife will get illness.
(*b*) He will be suddenly thrown in prison as a result of his taking part in the national movement.
(*c*) When running through the sub-periods of Venus, Sun and Moon, he, his wife and children will all be happy.
(*d*) Before fifty-two when he will be passing through the sub-periods of Mars and Rāhu and when Jupiter will be in Aquarius or Pisces, he will be made a Minister of Law and Order.
(*e*) Before fifty-five he will again be a Minister.
(*f*) Before sixty, he will get a son.
(*g*) After sixty he will take to ज्ञानमार्ग. (Sts. 68-85).

His Rāhudaśā will be good for his parents ; in Gurudaśā, he will show strong aptitude for arts and literature and get happiness of his wife. In Śanidaṣā, there will be all round prosperity and in Budhadaśā there will be happiness and unhappiness both (Sts. 86 and 87).

Basis

I have analysed below the Satyasaṁhitā reading given above and have deduced the following basic principles which are generally true and which I have divided into planetary and directional :—

(a) *Planetary*

(1) The Dhruvāṁśa of the Mīnalagna makes the native happy, generally.

(2) The lord of the first, if it be Jupiter in the Kanyāṁśa situated in the ninth, makes the native attractive in outward appearance.

(3) One gets a plenty of wealth if Mars be in Virgo in the seventh in his horoscope. Morover, if the lord of the second be in a Kendra or a Koṇa and the lord of the first be in a Koṇa, the native is bound to be a multi-millionaire.

(4) If the lord of the third be Venus in Scorpio in the ninth, the native has no brothers, elder or younger.

(5) If the lord of the fourth be Mercury in Sagittarius in the Ukṣāṁśa, the native has a virtuous mother, who is usually long-lived. He is under compliments of his maternal uncle. This also indicates him pure-hearted.

(6) He will have six issues out of which sons will be two and

daughters, three. One will die. The Yoga responsible for this is Moon in Gemini in the Kumbhāmśa.

(7) There will be no enemies if Sun is the lord of sixth and if it is in Sagittarius, though diseases he will have.

(8) If the lord of the seventh is in a Kendra and Mars in the seventh, the phenomenon results in two wives, the first, सजाति and the second, विजाति.

(9) The native is neither short-lived nor long-lived if the lord of the eighth is Venus in Scorpio.

(10) If the ninth house be occupied by Jupiter, the native has a superfine luck which begins to bloom from after twenty-five.

(b) *Directional*

(1) The Daśā of Rāhu in the case of this native will become a source of happiness for parents and get occasional illnesses in childhood.

(2) The Daśā of Jupiter will arrange for education and marriage and bring about his father's death in the sub-period of Ketu and his son's death in that of Rāhu.

(3) The Daśā of Saturn in the case of this native, shall procure abundant wealth and enviable status. The native will realize his dreams. There will be only one unhappy incident in the form of his wife's death in the sub-period of Rāhu.

(4) The Daśā of Mercury, so far as this native is concerned, will be of a mixed character. He will court imprisonment while working for the nation. He will be a Minister of Law and Order and will get a son in the sub-period of Jupiter.

(5) The Daśā of Ketu will prove fatal for this native.

Reading according to Orthodox School

If at a birth time, Meena be the Lagna, the person will have a proportionate and a lustrous body. He will be fond of his wife[5] and fortunate.[6] The aspect of Mars on the Lagna gives courage, combative spirit, energy and vigour. Jupiter, the ruler of the first, aspecting his own house, indicates long life with good health.

The ruler of the second house is Mars which is located in a Kendra and aspects his own Rāśi. It gives rise to a धनयोग which is lessened to some extent by the aspect of Saturn. Ordinarily, Mars in Virgo alone is good so far as wealth is concerned.

The lord of the third is Venus which is in the ninth in Scorpio in conjunction with Jupiter. In view of this Yoga, the native must have brothers and sisters both younger and elder. The aspect of Venus on his own house strengthened by that of Jupiter inspires the native to take to a legal career which turns out immensely flourishing. It also makes the native highly cultured and a literary man of exceptional power.

[5] Mantreśvara's *Phaladīpikā*, (Ed. V. Subrahmanya SHASTRI, Bangalore, 1937) 9, 12.

[6] Mahādeva ŚHARMĀ's *Jātakatatvam*, (Pub. Rutlam, 1937), p. 102.

Moon in the fourth promises extreme happiness.[7] It may be in the form of bungalows and cars. The effect is intensified to a very great degree by the aspect of its own lord over it.

The conjunction of Saturn and Rāhu in the fifth in an inimical sign is undisputedly bad. The only saving grace so far as this house is concerned is the Jupiter's aspect over it. The malefics must have, however, produced obstacles in the ways of native's prosecuting his studies. They also signify feeble digestion. The Navapañcama Yoga formed by Jupiter and Saturn is clearly responsible for the native's selecting a lawyer's career[8]. The Yoga would have been quite a perfect Yoga had any of the two planets been in Aries, Gemini, Leo, Libra, Sagittarius or Aquarius.

The ruler of the sixth, being in a Kendra, creates enemies but the native effectively brings them round as it is Sun in Sagittarius aspected by Moon.

Mars in the seventh aspected by Saturn positively makes अनेकभार्यायोग.[9] As Venus is in conjunction with Jupiter in the ninth, there is romantic attachment and a possibility of marriage with a genius and an original character[10]. Mars in the seventh may create hindrances in realizing dreams of conjugal happiness. This Mars is in a way responsible for occasionally causing loss of esteem through precipitate or aggressive actions. It also accounts for frequent clashes with people.

If the ruler of the first, eighth and tenth be in a Kendra or a Koṇa, the Yoga produced is one of दीर्घायुस्.[11] According to the Jaiminisūtra it is अल्पायुर्योग.[12]

The conjunction of Jupiter and Venus in the ninth is a strong indicator of excellent luck.[13] A powerful Jupiter in the ninth makes the native a minister.[14] Moreover, Jupiter in the ninth is an ideal position for philosophic thoughts; it gives genuine intuition, and is favourable for legal and philanthropic affairs; the native realizes his dreams and enjoys a very peaceful condition of the higher mind. Venus in the ninth stands for a very refined and artistic mind and endows the native with a power of appreciating culture. It also makes the native very sympathetic and humane though its value is somewhat lessened by its being the ruler of the eighth and at the same time this bad effect is more than compensated by its being in conjunction with Jupiter—a benefic of the highest order.

Sun in the tenth is powerful by its very position and shines all the more resplendently as it is in Sagittarius. It brings success and honour, power and governmental position.[15] It is in conjunction with Mercury which has given the native eloquence, literary abilities, versatility and a keen sense of humour.[16] It also makes him generous, ambitious and even rebellious. It is noted for giving great freedom of speech and ability for undertaking several

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[7] *Op. cit.* p. 183.
[8] *Op. cit.* p. 196.
[9] *Op. cit.* p. 252.
[10] *Op. cit.* p. 256.
[11] *Op. cit.* pp. 275 and 282.
[12] *Op. cit.* p. 278.
[13] *Op. cit.* p. 337.
[14] *Op. cit.* p. 354.
[15] *Op. cit.* p. 366.
[16] *Op. cit.* p. 390.

things at a time. It is also responsible for giving wonderful suppleness, a clear vision and a fertile imagination. If the ruler of the tenth is in the ninth, it shows that the native will have a wide circle of very famous friends as well as a mother of noble and truth-speaking nature.[17] The lunar opposition with the sun, according to Western school of Astrology, creates hitches, makes delays, shows low vitality and a want of recuperative powers; while, according to Eastern School of Astrology, it heightens the good effect.

The ruler of the eleventh which is Saturn in Cancer in a Koṇa and aspects its own house, promises a plenty of wealth and riches.

Saturn is also a lord of the twelfth as of the eleventh and hence a regulator of income and expenditure, both. It works out imprisonments though no bad will follow therefrom as Jupiter fully aspects Saturn. At the basis of these imprisonments, there will always be good actions, say, services in the cause of country.

Discussion

On comparison it is obvious that there is no essential difference between the two readings. The reason is not far to seek. What has been categorically stated by Satyācārya can also be rationally explained. Scientific approach is the only thing required. Satyācārya has merely given the results without reasons which are there and which are left to us to find out. So the scientific approach to which I have just now referred consists of the following fundamentals of a correct prediction :—

(1) The key of a horoscope lies in finding out the predominant *Yoga* which governs the life of the native throughout. All other considerations are merely subsidiary. There is a very great number of Yogas[18] incidentally discussed in any standard work on Astrology. Thus, to illustrate my point, if a प्रव्रज्यायोग is taking place in the horoscope of a particular person, all other considerations have got to be made in view of this main point; so also in the case of a woman if a वैधव्ययोग be taking place in her horoscope. With regard to the horoscope under study, the main Yoga taking place is the प्रभूतकीर्तियोग which will get fulfilled, whatever good activities the native may take to. It is, no doubt, true that the Yoga gets more scope to be fulfilled if the Daśā and the Bhukti are favourable; and less, if not. The present rotation also affects it to a certain degree, this way or that way. This प्रभूतकीर्तियोग of the orthodox school tallies cent per cent with the prophetic predictions of Satyācārya regarding the horoscope under review.

I am sorry to admit my inability to fully grasp the point of आयुस् because Satyācārya has predicted the मध्यमायुर्योग while according to the reading

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[17] *Op. cit.* p. 401.

[18] There are many Yogas, namely, the नाभस Yoga, सुनफा Yoga, अनफा Yoga, केशी Yoga, चंद्र Yoga etc. etc. Moreover, there is quite a good number of Yogas produced by the positions of the planets, their aspects, conjunctions etc.

given by me based on the recognized principles, it is दीर्घायुर्योग[19]. There is also another interesting thing which requires some explanation and it is the question of the caste of the two wives. Satyācārya definitely lays down that the first wife will be सजाति and the second will be विजाति. It is really beyond comprehension though I am glad to state that the *Mānasāgarī* also says the same thing.[20] Mars aspected by Saturn clearly shows conjugal unhappiness which may be in the form of the native's having more than one wife or of mutual discord or of the native's getting a sickly or a deformed wife or a wife, more masculine than feminine. There is another consideration also and that is of the well-placed Venus which is a कारकगृह of the wife. It is, moreover, in combination with Jupiter—a benefic and a लग्नेश as well as a दशमेश. This must give extreme happiness of a married life. Thus, to sum up, it can be predicted that the native will not be so happy by his first wife as he is destined to be by his second wife. Whether his first wife will make him happy or the second is principally dependent on what planets influencing the seventh are more powerful—malefics or benefics. The question of the जाति of the wives is beyond my power to understand, though the verdict of the *Mānasāgarī*, a respected book of the orthodox school, should not be ignored. One more point equally important and elusive is that of the native's becoming a Minister of Law and Order. The horoscope is, indeed, a first-rate horoscope. The position of Jupiter and Venus in the ninth warrants, more than sufficiently, a conclusion that the native will be a minister. But to say that he will be a minister of Law and Order requires a more searching and accurate study. The reason, I think, is that the martial planet, namely, Sun, in the tenth in Sagittarius aspected by Mars outweighs Jupiter and Venus in the ninth. Had it not been so, the native would have been a Minister of Education. Thus this last factor is somewhat more explicable than the preceding two mentioned just now.

(2) The next important fundamental is the ascertainment of the बलाबल of the planets. It can be estimated through a number of ways, namely, the दशवर्गबल, दीप्तादिअवस्था, उच्चरश्मि, अष्टकवर्ग, स्थानबल, अयनबल, दिग्बल, राशिबल, दशा, भुक्ति, गोचर etc. Of all these, I have found the दशवर्गबल to be more weighty. The fact that a particular planet is powerful only in the Natal Chart does not enable us to predict correctly only on that consideration because I have seen a beggar's natal chart containing exalted Jupiter and an Emperor's, having nothing extraordinary in it.[21] In the horoscope under consideration, there is no exalted planet, no svagrahi planet. Still, however, the horoscope is superfine because the planets, excepting Rāhu and, to a certain extent, Saturn, are all powerful in most of the other nine charts.

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[19] See footnote 11 above.

[20] *Mānasāgarīpaddhatiḥ* (Pub. Bombay, 1939), 3, 9.

[21] See the horoscopes printed at the end of *Jyotiṣkalpataru* and discussed incidentally in the *Sulabhajātaka*.

This is a consideration that should preclude a professional from risking prediction simply from the natal chart as it is unsafe and it is only by chance that it comes out true.

Conclusion

Some predictions might not have come true and some may not come also, but we could see from the above discussion that a reconciliation between the reading of the orthodox school and that of the Saṁhitā can be satisfactorily effected. The phrase योगप्रभावमूलेन[22] used by Satyācārya is to be taken in a figurative sense, meaning thereby, that an astrologer should attempt a forecast only with the deepest knowledge and also keeping देश and काल in view.

फलादेशः[23] ॥

सुरासुरेज्यौ यदि कोणयातौ दिनाधिपे सोमसुते धनुष्ये ।
वृषधराजे मिथुने शशाङ्के मंदे कुलीरे झषलग्नजातः ॥
ग्रहरववसुशशांङ्के याति शाके च वर्षे
दिवकृतिगतचापे पूर्णिमायां तिथौ च ।
भृगुसुतदिवसे वै मीनलग्ने प्रजातः
बहुधनबहुभोगी न्यायदर्शी समर्थः ॥
श्रीपतिं प्रणिपत्याहं प्रणम्य च नवग्रहान् ।
लोकानामुपकाराय वक्ष्येऽहं सत्यसंहिताम् ॥

भावफलम् ॥

ध्रुवांशे तु परे भावे मीनलग्नस्य जातके ।
विप्रजन्मा सुखी जातः हरिशंकरभक्तिमान् ॥ १ ॥
नदीतीरे च नगरे नानाजातिजनान्विते ।
जननं जातकस्याहुः पितृमातृसुखावहः ॥ २ ॥
पूर्वभागे तु संभूतः वैश्यजातिश्च धार्मिकः ।
नानाव्यापारकार्याणि बहुलक्षधनी भवेत् ॥ ३ ॥

प्रथमो भावः ॥

तनुनाथे सुरपूज्ये भाग्ये कन्यांशमागते ।
जातकः सुंदरांगश्च सुमुखश्च सुलोचनः ॥ ४ ॥
गौरवर्णशरीरश्च लोकरीतिविचक्षणः ।
सर्वाकृतिश्च जायेत सर्वेषामुपकारवान् ॥ ५ ॥
नातिस्थूलो नातिकृशः मध्यगात्रो भविष्यति ।
सात्त्विकप्रकृतिर्जातो राजसप्रकृतिः क्वचित् ॥ ६ ॥

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[22] See footnote 2 above.

[23] The text is corrupt, indeed. It must be so on account of scribal errors. I have not emended it as the meaning is clear even without it. I also admit that it is somewhat unwarranted to deduce any conclusions regarding the Satyasamhitā and its nature on a scanty evidence of half a dozen readings.

जन्मभूमिं परित्यज्य महानगरवासकृत् ।
सुखजीवी च भविता व्यापारी प्रभुः ...[24] ॥ ७ ॥

द्वितीयो भावः ॥

धनस्थानाधिपे भौमे कन्यासप्तमकेन्द्रगे ।
धनवान् भविता जातः इति सत्यस्य निश्चयः ॥ ८ ॥
धनेशे केन्द्रकोणस्थे लग्नेशे यदि कोणगे ।
बहुलक्षधनी जातः भविष्यति न संशयः ॥ ९ ॥
पित्रार्जितं क्वचिच्चेति स्वार्जितं धनमश्नुते ।
पञ्चविंशं समारभ्य वर्षे वर्षे च लक्षभाक् ॥ १० ॥
विद्यावान् भविता जातः नीचविद्याविशारदः ।
देशभाषादेवभाषाद्वित्रिभाषाभिवृद्धिकृत् ॥ ११ ॥
सर्वा भूमिः कुटुम्बं च कुटुम्बीश्रितरक्षकः ।
स्पष्टोच्चारव ..... साहित्ये सारविद् भवेत् ॥ १२ ॥
वाक्ये वाक्यपटष्टे च वाक्ये गौरवमादिशेत् ।
महाजनसभामध्ये वाग्मी पटुतरो भवेत् ॥ १३ ॥
..... ।
भुक्तिसौकर्यवान् जातः काले मुक्तिं समाचरेत् ॥ १४ ॥

तृतीयो भावः ॥

भ्रातृस्थानाधिपे शुक्रे कीटस्थाने स्थिते यदि ।
एक एव सुतो मातुः न भ्राता विद्यतेऽपि च ॥ १५ ॥
स्वसा ज्येष्ठा च भविता पश्चादेका स्वसा भवेत् ।
पराक्रमी पटुर्जातः धीरः साहसवान् भवेत् ॥ १६ ॥
कार्याकार्यं च जानाति सम्यक् कार्यं करोति च ।
यदि कोपी भवेच्चांतो न कोपफलकर्मकृत् ॥ १७ ॥
वस्त्रालंकारसौख्यं च जातकस्य भविष्यति ।
देशाभिमानी जायेत देशसेवी सुनीतिमान् ॥ १८ ॥
विद्याविनोदी जायेत लेखकश्च विचक्षणः ।
स्वकार्यं च परित्यज्य परकार्ये प्रयत्नभाक् ॥ १९ ॥
बहुमैत्री च जायेत राजन्यजनमित्रवान् ।
व्यापारिप्रभुणा सख्यं धनलाभश्च जायते ॥ २० ॥
गौराकृतिर्बहुधनी वचने पटुत्वं
भ्राता न कोऽपि भगिनी सुखिनी च पश्चात् ।
नित्यं धनी सुनयनी सुखभोजनी च
मानी गुणी च भविता दिशि दिव्यकीर्तिः ॥ २१ ॥

चतुर्थो भावः ॥

मातृस्थानाधिपे सौम्ये चापे उक्षांशमागते ।
माता गुणवती चैव बहुकालं च जीवति ॥ २२ ॥

[24] Lacunas of this type are placed here as they are found in the original.

मातुलादियुतो जातः मातृबंधुवशात्सुखम् ।
गृहवाहादिसौख्यं च विचित्रगृहवासकृत् ॥ २३ ॥
बुधदाये तदाकाले विचित्रारामवासवान् ।
विशेषवाहसौख्यं च विमानादिषु संचरेत् ॥ २४ ॥
विशुद्धहृदयो जातः विशालहृदयस्तथा ।
बहिरंतःसमाकारः सत्संगी साधुशीलवान् ॥ २५ ॥
उदारोऽयं भवेज्जातः न कार्पण्यं भजेदपि ।
न भूतो न च भावी च स्वजातौ इदृशः पुमान् ॥ २६ ॥

पञ्चमो भावः ॥

पुत्रस्थानाधिपे चन्द्रे मिथुने कुंभांशमागते ।
पुत्रपुत्रीविवृद्धिश्च जातकस्य भविष्यति ॥ २७ ॥
रससंख्या च संतानं पुत्रपुत्रीसुखावहं ।
पुत्रनेत्रं गुणं सौख्यं पुत्रीगुणमुदीरयेत् ॥ २८ ॥
शेषं नष्टं च जायेत क्रूरगोचरकालके ।
पुत्रप्राबल्यमादेश्यं राजद्वारे महत्सुखं ॥ २९ ॥
तस्य जातकविस्तारः तत्र तत्र प्रदर्श्यते ।
बुद्धिमान् नीतिमान् जातः दयायुक्तो भविष्यति ॥ ३० ॥
मंत्रालोचनकार्ये च महामंत्रीपदं लभेत् ।
आगामिसूचिनी बुद्धिः परेषां बुद्धिदायकः ॥ ३१ ॥

षष्ठो भावः ॥

शत्रुस्थानाधिपे सूर्ये चापे स्थाने स्थिते यदि ।
शत्रुवृद्धिविहीनश्च रोगपीडा क्वचिद्भवेत् ॥ ३२ ॥

सप्तमो भावः ॥

दारपतौ केन्द्रगते दारस्थानं धरासुते ।
दारद्वयी भवित्री च भविता दारोऽनुदारश्च ॥ ३३ ॥
सजातिश्च विजातिश्च भार्याद्वयमुदीरयेत् ।
पूर्वभार्या ससंताना परा भार्या ससंतती ॥ ३४ ॥
विद्याकीर्तिमती चैव परा भार्या भविष्यति ।
..... ॥ ३५ ॥
पूर्वभार्या विनष्टा च परा भार्या भविष्यति ।
..... ॥ ३६ ॥

अष्टमो भावः ॥

आयुःस्थानाधिपे शुक्रे कीटे गुरुसमन्विते ।
मध्यजीवी च भविता सुखजीवी भवेन्नरः ॥ ३७ ॥
केतुदायांतिमे काले कीर्तिशेषो भविष्यति ।
बुधदाये गंडता च षष्ठीवर्षे पुरापरे ॥ ३८ ॥
महामृत्युंजयं जापं तस्मिन् काले समाचरेत् ।

पञ्चाशद्वत्सरे पूर्वे क्वापि पीडा च जायते ॥ ३९ ॥
साधूनामन्नदानं च तस्मिन् काले समाचरेत् ।
रसे रसे तदा काले कीर्तिशेषो भवेन्नरः ॥ ४० ॥

नवमो भावः ॥

भाग्ये गुरुसमायोगे संपूर्णभाग्यमादिशेत् ।
पञ्चविंशाद्भाग्यवृद्धिः उपर्युपरि वृद्धिमान् ॥ ४१ ॥
धर्ममार्गे मतिश्चैव दाता दीनदयापरः ।
अदृष्टशाली भविता स्वकुले योगवान् भवेत् ॥ ४२ ॥
धर्मकार्यं च कुर्वीत धर्ममार्गे प्रवृत्तिमान् ।
सुकर्मा मानवान् जातः कर्मकौशलवान् भवेत् ॥ ४३ ॥
न्यायदर्शी न्यायवादी न्यायाधीशो भविष्यति ।
देशोपकारकरणः देशोपद्रवनोदनः ॥ ४४ ॥
वयोऽन्ते ज्ञानशाली च देवतागुरुभक्तिभाक् ।
विविक्तसेवी भविता सदाचारो भविष्यति ॥ ४५ ॥
गेहं च वाहनसुखं भविता समीहा
तीर्तं सुखं च भविता तनयाभिवृद्धिः ।
नार्णं च पूर्णविभवः बहुभाग्यशाली
धर्मे मतिश्च भविताऽऽयसमव्ययी च ॥ ४६ ॥
इत्थं द्वादशभावानां फलमुक्तं समासतः ।
दशाभुक्तिप्रकारस्तु दिङ्मात्रमिह सूच्यते ॥ ४७ ॥

आर्द्रानक्षत्रे जन्म ॥ राहु दशा ॥

रसवर्षाद्दशाशेषः वेदमासश्च जायते ।
तद्दशायां च जातस्य पितामातासुखावहम् ॥ ४८ ॥
बाल्यपीडा च जायेत पश्चात्सौख्यं च जायते ।
पश्चात् स्वसा च जायेत जातकस्य सुखं तथा ॥ ४९ ॥
अक्षरारंभसिद्धिश्च जातकस्य भविष्यति ।
..... ॥ ५० ॥

गुरुदशा ॥

ऋषिवर्षं समारभ्य गुरुदाये समागते ।
दशमे वत्सरे पूर्वे विद्याभ्यासं च कारयेत् ॥ ५१ ॥
सौम्यभुक्तौ द्वादशाब्दे विवाहादिशुभं भवेत् ।
विद्याभ्यासश्च जायेत वृद्धिमेति पदे पदे ॥ ५२ ॥
केतुभुक्तौ पितुर्नष्टं पंचपञ्चौ तदा पुनः ।
पितृरिष्टात् परं चैव मातृबंधुवशात् सुखम् ॥ ५३ ॥
षोडशाब्दे पूर्वकाले विद्याभ्यासश्च जायते ।
शुक्रसूर्यान्जकाले तु विंशद्वर्षकपूर्वके ॥ ५४ ॥
विद्याभ्यासो विशेषेण नीचविद्याविवृद्धिकृत् ।
..... ॥ ५५ ॥

स्थानान्तरनिवासी च विद्याभ्यासविशारदः ।
भार्यया सह सौख्यं च पुत्रसंताननष्टकृत् ॥ ५६ ॥

शनिदशा ॥

द्वाविंशे वत्सरे काले नीतिशास्त्रप्रसंगकृत् ।
पंचविंशे तदा काले न्यायस्थाने गतागतिः ॥ ५७ ॥
न्यायदर्शी समर्थश्च व्यवहारसमर्थकः ।
त्रिंशपूर्वे सौम्यकेतौ न्यायदर्शी प्रसिद्धिमान् ॥ ५८ ॥
विशेषाद् धनलाभश्च गृहवाहादिसौख्यवान् ।
भार्यया सह सौख्यं च भोगभोग्यं महत्सुखं ॥ ५९ ॥
पुत्रपुत्रीविवृद्धिश्च दिशायां दिव्यकीर्तिभाक् ।
पुरे गण्यत्वमाप्नोति व्यापारिजनसख्यकृत् ॥ ६० ॥
क्वापि पीडा च जायेत हरिगेहे प्रदीपकृत् ।
शुक्रसूर्यांब्जकाले तु पञ्चत्रिंशकपूर्वके ॥ ६१ ॥
न्यायदर्शी समर्थश्च व्यवहारसमर्थकः ।
धनलाभश्च जायेत राजन्यजनमैत्रीवान् ॥ ६२ ॥
बहुलक्षधनी जातः गृहवाहादिसौख्यकृत् ।
पञ्चत्रिंशे तदा काले पुत्रीवृद्धिश्च जायते ॥ ६३ ॥
सूतिदोषवशाच्चेति भार्या नष्टं च जायते ।
अचिरेणैवकालेन पुनरुद्वाहयोगवान् ॥ ६४ ॥
क्वापि कष्टं मनः कष्टं सुब्रह्मण्याभिषेककृत् ।
परा च भविता भार्या विद्याकीर्तिमती भवेत् ॥ ६५ ॥
वसुरामे राहुभुक्तौ पुत्रवृद्धिश्च जायते ।
दशांते च महत्सौख्यं पुत्रपुत्रीसुखावहम् ॥ ६६ ॥

भार्यया सह सौख्यं च न्यायदर्शी प्रसिद्धिमान् ॥ ६७ ॥

बुधदशा ॥

द्विचत्वारिककाले तु सौम्यदाये समागते ।
सौम्यकेतौ तदा काले पञ्चचत्वारिके पुरा ॥ ६८ ॥
संतानादिविवृद्धिश्च पुत्रीपुत्रसुखावहम् ।
क्वचित्पीडा कुटुम्बे च भार्यया सह कष्टकृत् ॥ ६९ ॥
न तथा धनलाभश्च व्ययाधिक्यं च जायते ।
अकस्माद् बंधनं कष्टं देशसेवाविशेषतः ॥ ७० ॥
पश्चान्मोचनमादेश्यं धनलाभः क्वचिद्भवेत् ।
मंडलं हरिसेवां च विष्णुसाहस्रकं जपेत् ॥ ७१ ॥
पुत्रपुत्रीसुखी भोगी दिशायां दिव्यकीर्तिभाक् ।
शुक्रसूर्यांब्जकाले तु पंचाशद्वत्सरे पुरा ॥ ७२ ॥
देशानां हितकारी च सौकर्यं कुत्रचिद्भवेत् ।
भार्यादीनां सुखं चैव संतानादिविवृद्धिकृत् ॥ ७३ ॥

वर्षे वर्षे धनं चैव गृहवाहादिवृद्धिमान् ।
गेहे च शुभकार्याणि शुभकार्ये व्ययो महान् ॥ ७४ ॥
गौरवी भविता जातो देशे प्रख्यातकीर्तिमान् ।
यत्नकार्यानुकूलं च जातकस्य भविष्यति ॥ ७५ ॥
अकस्मात् पीडनं कष्टं कुटुम्बे पीडनं भवेत् ।
कुर्यात् सूर्यनमस्कारं द्वादशादित्यपूजनम् ॥ ७६ ॥
पञ्चपञ्चाशके पूर्वे कुजे राहौ तदा पुनः ।
बहूनां सहायमूलेन श्वेतराजन्यसख्यतः ॥ ७७ ॥
महाराजसभामध्ये न्यायदंडाधिकारवान् ।
द्विपञ्चाशत्ककाले वा कुंभे वा मीनगे गुरौ ॥ ७८ ॥
राजन्यजनसहाय्यं च बहुगौरवमेयिवान् ।
सुतदारात्मपीडा च रक्तवस्त्रान्नदानकृत् ॥ ७९ ॥
विचित्रारामवासी च विचित्रशकटीगतिः ।
पंचपंचाशके काले प्रधानत्वं च विंदते ॥ ८० ॥
मंत्रालोचनकार्यं च शुभाशुभफलं तदा ।
विशेषसुखभाग् जातः राजन्यजनमैत्रीवान् ॥ ८१ ॥
षष्टिपूर्वे सुखी जातः राजकार्यं करोति च ।
पुत्रप्राबल्ययोगश्च राजद्वारे महत्सुखम् ॥ ८२ ॥
षष्टिवर्षात् परं चैव ज्ञानमार्गे प्रवृत्तिमान् ।
देशानां हितकारी च जातकस्य भविष्यति ॥ ८३ ॥
षष्टिपूर्वे देहकष्टं मृत्युहोमादि कारयेत् ।
पञ्चषष्टौ गते काले कीर्तिशेषो भवेन्नरः ॥ ८४ ॥
यावत्कालं स्थिरा कीर्तिः जातकस्य भविष्यति ।
अनायासात् कीर्तिशेषः पुत्रपुत्रीसमीपगे ॥ ८५ ॥
आदौ राहुदशा पितुः सुखकरी पश्चात्भवेत् सोदरी
जीवे चैव कलारतिः पटुमतिः भार्यासुखं जायते ।
मंदे भाग्यविवर्धनं बहुधनं संतानसंवर्धनं
सौम्ये स्याच्च सुखासुखे च मिलिते जातौ भवेत् कीर्तिमान् ॥ ८६ ॥
कालदेशविपर्यासान्न्यूनाधिकफलमिदम् ।
को वक्ता तारतम्यस्य तमेकं वेधसं विना ॥ ८७ ॥

॥ इति शुभम् ॥

HINDU CULTURE IN MODERN LIFE*

By

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice H. V. DIVATIA, M.A., LL.B.

WE have assembled here today on the inauguration of the sixth year in the life of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan which was started in November 1938. This Bhavan which has for its object the study of the ancient Aryan learning can be generally described as an Academy of Hindu Culture. And in consonance with that object I propose to address you today on the subject of Hindu Culture in Modern Life.

To an audience consisting of educated Hindus who are conscious of their cultural heritage, it may appear superfluous to be told about not only what they know but what they practise in their daily lives. And yet there is no subject which is more vital for the future of Hindu civilization than the condition of Hindu Culture in the modern world. Time was when Hindus developed and spread their culture which shed its lustre far and wide and satisfied the spiritual hunger of millions of men. Time has come when that very culture is denounced as effete and decadent. It is said that every culture and civilization has within it the germs of its own disintegration and dissolution. Human history can no doubt provide a number of illustrations of this truth. Has Hindu Culture arrived at a stage when it can no longer progress or even survive in the tremendous clash of ideas and armaments with which the world is resounding today? Has the time come when we should adjust ourselves to modern ideas and revise our outlook of life, discard such of our social and religious institutions as are impeding our progress for a free and democratic life? Or is it better to fight the foreign influences which are assailing our cultural life by a strict adherence to our orthodox culture even if it be at the sacrifice of economic and political advancement? These are some of the questions which rise uppermost in our minds when we think of the conditions in which Hindu life finds itself at present.

An answer to these questions first requires clarification of what can be regarded as the fundamental ingredients of Hindu Culture and elimination of its non-essential from the essential elements. The term 'Hinduism' has defied an exact definition. But it can be described as a religious system which is founded on the philosophy as well as rules of conduct for all departments of life which are inculcated in its sacred books viz. Vedas, Smṛtis, Upaniṣads and Purāṇas. The material difference between Hinduism and the other main religious systems in the world is that while the latter such as Christianity, Mahomedanism, Buddhism and Zoroastrianism have been

* Address delivered on the Sixth Foundation Day of the Bhavan, 28th November, 1943.

either revealed to or preached by one prophet, viz. Christ, Mahomed, Buddha or Zoroaster, Hinduism is not connected in its origin with any one prophet, but beginning with the alleged revealed character of the Vedas it includes a number of doctrines developed in course of time about the relationship of man to his Creator, the mode of leading human life for attaining spiritual salvation and elaborate rules of conduct for individual as well as social units for the realisation of that end. All these doctrines have not the stamp of authority of one individual as is the case with other religions, but they are the work of numerous persons in successive generations who have from time to time commented upon and modified previous doctrines according to changing circumstances. The result has been that Hinduism is not merely a religious creed, but a moral and social code of life consisting of numerous and conflicting dogmas giving rise to rival sects and schools of thought. It produced institutions which were evolved in one set of circumstances but which failed in their purpose with change of environment. This most distinctive feature of Hinduism has been, through centuries of varying fortunes, its source of strength in some matters but of weakness in others. Being impersonal in its sanctions, Hinduism derived its injunctions from treatises written from time to time which cannot in some matters be reconciled with each other and which lent their authority to all sorts of religious 'isms' from monotheism to atheism and all sorts of religious practices from Yoga to idol worship. It is this peculiar feature of Hinduism that has earned for itself the highest praise as well as severest condemnation according to that part of its all-comprehensive system which the critic has in view. This all-comprehensive nature of our religious culture no doubt fostered a spirit of tolerance and created an atmosphere of live and let live. It supplied spiritual solace and satisfaction to persons of different degrees of mental evolution and even conflicting views of life. This spirit of tolerance in turn developed the qualities of patience and forbearance which have enabled the Hindus to bear with rare courage the calamities and vicissitudes of life and to survive other communities with more vitality of body but less capacity for suffering. For that very reason, however, it has not given the Hindus a rallying cry and with it a cementing and aggressive spirit which some of the other religious systems have done, with the result that it has not created among its followers a militant brotherhood but only a loose combination of hierarchical classes or castes which regard one another's functions as exclusive and limited to their own social welfare. As long as the conquering tribes which penetrated India in early times were not actuated by a militant religious spirit Hinduism devoured its own conquerors who were subjugated by its superior and catholic culture and were gradually absorbed into the Hindu fold. But it could not protect itself against its later conquerors with an aggressive and proselytising spirit who followed their conquests with mass conversions and temple destruction. And then followed that clash of cultures which entirely changed the life which Hindus led in their glorious past. Crushed under the weight of political domination the Hindu Culture was partially paralysed and ceased to adapt itself to the

changing circumstances as it did in the days of its independence. It became rigid and stagnant in its desire to survive against frequent attacks from outside, it withdrew into its own shell and stuck to its social and religious institutions with a blind conservative state of mind till at last it appeared to be more a culture of prohibitions and inhibitions than of progress and evolution. Its core was in course of time so covered with its crust that its substance became unrecognisable. Then came its contact with Western Culture and modes of life which became more and more intensive as well as extensive with the growth of the present system of education in India. One good thing that it did was that in the beginning it attracted eminent western scholars to make a study of Hindu civilization and their researches revealed for the first time to the Western world that the real Hindu Culture was not what it appeared to be on a superficial view of its social and religious institutions but that it rested on a philosophic theory of life which for its moral conviction and spiritual satisfaction could not be easily dislodged by any other system of metaphysical thought. After the first reaction resulting from contact with western culture had subsided, the spirit of nationalism began to permeate our cultural life and we began to be conscious of the fact that our real culture lay hidden beneath our time-worn institutions. The demand for its revival grew with the realisation of the truth that western civilisation had not succeeded in solving the deeper problems of life on its spiritual side, and that the solution which Hinduism offers to them has been misunderstood and even misrepresented. This revival requires a correct appreciation of the essential elements of Hindu philosophy consisting of everlasting truths of life and their separation from beliefs and institutions which have a secondary or subsidiary value. I will here consider only two such prominent institutions which have been the targets of attack against the Hindu Religion.

Idol worship with its accompaniment of elaborate rituals and priest-craft on the religious side and rigid hereditary caste system with its rules of restrictions and prohibitions on the social side have been regarded as the main obstacles in the way of Hindu culture in adapting itself to modern conditions of life. In some quarters these have been regarded as the hall-marks of the Hindu religious system. There is no doubt that they are institutions of hoary antiquity in India, but it would not be quite correct to say that in the form in which they exist at present they are the *sine qua non* of the Hindu culture. Varṇāśrama Dharma has no doubt been regarded as one of the distinctive features of Hindu life. But the Varṇāśrama which was founded hundreds of years ago was entirely different from the rigid and hereditary castes as well as the innumerable sub-castes that prevail at the present day. In fact a study of our ancient sacred books shows that the four original castes which were regarded as necessary for division of social functions have now entirely disappeared and the present castes are an intermixture not only of those original castes but also of other tribes by intermarriages. They do not represent Varṇāśrama but Varṇasaṁkara which has no sanction of religion behind it. The castes in their present form would

rank after Śūdras according to the strict test of Varṇāśrama Dharma. Their disappearance need not give a shock to our religious susceptibilities. Whatever purpose they might have served in the past they are doomed to disappear in this age when equality of opportunity and social democracy have become a desideratum of our national life. What I want to lay stress on however is the manner in which this social revolution is to be brought about without impairing our cultural life. It must be accepted that the more cultured castes will have to make some sacrifices and give up their exclusiveness for the sake of raising the general level of Hindu society, but the process of reform must be in the direction of levelling up of the social strata from the bottom and not indiscriminate levelling down from the top. We cannot ignore the laws of heredity and a reform which runs on natural lines is more likely to achieve its object than haphazard and indiscriminate change. If we hold culture in greater esteem than caste, it is essential that caste distinctions should be removed in a manner as would cause the least harm to our culture. This does not mean that intercaste marriages should not be encouraged. There is no reason why Anuloma marriages alone should be recognised as legal and not Pratiloma also when we now find that, with the rapid spread of knowledge, persons of the so-called inferior castes can be as much cultured as those of the higher castes. With the general process of levelling up there will be no justification for a monopoly in marriages.

Even Sir S. RADHAKRISHNAN, who regards the system of caste as democracy so far as spiritual values are concerned and according to whom caste was the answer of Hinduism to the forces pressing on it from outside, admits that the welfare of society today demands a breaking down of all suspicion of monopoly and that with the general levelling up there will be a greater democratisation of the ideals. He also says that the Hindu scriptures should be thrown open at the present day to all people irrespective of their caste and sex, and that marriages should be not necessarily in one's own caste but among members of approximately the same level of culture and social development for castes also degenerate.

The other institution of the Hindu religion which is most attacked is the worship of idols with its accompaniment of ritualism. It is regarded as a relic of medieval ignorance which all civilised peoples have given up, but which lingers in India because of the superstitious beliefs encouraged by an interested and monopolied priesthood. Worship of God through an emblem or a symbol can be traced to ancient times, especially in countries where the majesty of nature aroused human consciousness to its sublime and supernatural origin. There was no worship of idols among the original Aryans. But after they came to India, their minds were captivated by the awful grandeur and serenity of natural forces. Their impressive minds drew inspiration from the nature with which they were surrounded and their whole philosophy of life was founded upon the supernatural as they saw it through the natural. The profound metaphysical thought, which evolved the theory of human life and its relation to the divine and is embodied

in the Upaniṣads and other scriptures and which is peculiar to Hinduism, was the result of deep contemplation in the midst of natural surroundings of thick forests, and they were therefore known as Āraṇyakas. Thus the Hindu mind not only developed a faculty for deep contemplation but also acquired a capacity for lofty imagination. Throughout the course of centuries of varying vicissitudes of life, it has to this day preserved these characteristics which have been as much the source of its strength on the spiritual side as they are the source of its weakness on the material side. To such a mind the worship of God through images and natural forces has a spiritual fervour and mental satisfaction which it is difficult to imagine, by those who have not felt them. It has given the Hindus a means for the manifestation of their intense religious devotion and the preservation of a religious background behind their daily lives. But although it has this important psychological value, the worship of God through idols has not been regarded by the Hindu sages as the only or the best means for obtaining spiritual enlightenment. It is regarded only as a stage in the religious evolution of the individual. The Hindu theory of life recognises that all individuals are not in the same stage of mental development and that each person should therefore have such means of satisfying his religious impulse as would be fitting to his mental equipment. For persons who have developed capacity for rational thought the Hindu religion has supplied higher forms of religious culture like Yoga and other introspective methods of spiritual elevation. Idol worship is not thus a religious obligation for all Hindus and it is only a lower stage of worship to be discarded when the mind has reached the higher stage of introspective contemplation. But we have got to take a realistic view of human limitations and it must be recognised that however much we may wish to do away with idol worship it cannot be eliminated altogether so long as the Hindu masses have not risen to that stage of culture which would make them dispense with that form of worship. Buddhism tried to do it, but in doing so it was itself driven away out of India and later on it also partly degenerated into ritualistic worship of the idol of the Buddha himself. What is urgently required at the present moment is to improve our ignorant priesthood by making them cultured ministers of our religion and to deprive the degenerate and monopolistic members of that class of the opportunity of playing on the superstitions of the masses. Above all it is necessary that no particular caste should have the monopoly of priesthood in the new Hinduism of the future. We have instances in ancient times when even Śūdras had become preceptors of the higher classes. It is only when we shall have a thoroughly cultured and selfless priesthood that our masses will be free from the burden of excessive ceremonials and superstitious beliefs.

I may here quote the words of an eminent modern Hindu, Sir Sivaswami AIYAR who says in his book on "The Evolution of Hindu Moral Ideas" as follows: "One great handicap under which Hinduism lingers is its load of ritualism and ceremonial observances. The sooner its followers can lighten the load and devote themselves to the essentials of religion the

greater will be its chances of survival. The social institutions of caste which have been developed in India to such fantastic lengths is also bound to disappear. But its disappearance need not affect Hinduism as a religion. It will, on the other hand, help the promotion of Hindu unity." He says further : "Hinduism has far greater power of accommodation (far too much in the opinion of men) than other creeds of the world and would have less difficulty in reconciling its philosophical basis with the questions of modern scientific thought."

The essence of Hindu culture does not lie in the outer forms of worship or in the forms of social hierarchy. It is really in the theory of human life and its relation to the divine that Hinduism has made the greatest contribution to the world which has not still been surpassed in any other religious system. It is based upon the evolutionary nature of human soul and regards this life as not the beginning and end of the individual soul but only a stage in its evolution through several avatāras. The theory is based upon the law of Moral Causation which is as certain and definite as the law of Physical Causation in the material world. It has no place for miracles in it and it is not inconsistent with the known laws which govern the whole universe. In fact modern researches and discoveries in natural sciences have gone rather to confirm than to contradict the Hindu theory of Moral Causation and its effect upon the individual soul. This theory of Karma is one of the eternal truths or Sanātana Satyas which Hinduism has given to the world. It has supplied a firm foundation for the moral code of life. It is very often misunderstood to be a theory of fatalism. But nothing can be further from the truth. The theory that a man's actions not only determine his present life but also affect the evolution of his soul after his death necessarily postulates a freedom of will by which a man can change his present and future life for the better instead of leaving it to be determined by a blind fate. It is unfortunately true that an incorrect appreciation of this theory has led many persons to adopt a fatalistic view of life. And it is one of the principal tasks of the reformers of Hindu Culture to impress upon people its real character as a law of human nature in which freedom of will has its proper place.

I have dwelt upon all these matters here specially because it is the work of institutions like this Bhavan to propound what real Hindu Culture is and to impress upon our Hindu brethren the necessity of separating it from outgrown forms of our religion. In the modern world when a decade is more full of progressive knowledge and epoch-making events than a century in former times, an old culture like ours has to be maintained as a live force and not as a deadweight on us if we are to preserve our cultural entity.

The challenge to Hindu Culture is not, however, merely from without, but it is also from within. The development of modern scientific thought and the study of social and economic sciences of the world which have led to the popularity of socialistic and even communistic outlook of life have shaken the foundation of the religious basis of our life in almost all the

countries of the world. The ever recurring economic and political conflicts in the world have given so much impetus to these trends of thought that the religious and moral bases of human culture have receded into the background. The development of our knowledge of the physical laws of the material world has resulted in employing the test of reason in all departments of life with the result that religious faith in matters that cannot bear a rational test is being rejected as having nothing to do with human culture. It is not Hinduism alone but all religious systems that have been more or less affected by this outlook. And if Hindu Culture has to survive in future it must be based on foundations of a faith which can be supported by reason. If it does not do so, the spirit of indifference to religion which is growing more and more among our educated youths will ultimately undermine the valuable cultural heritage which we have acquired from the past. Institutions like this Bhavan should undertake the task of presenting Hindu Culture in the form in which it would be acceptable to all Hindus who have imbibed the truths of economic and natural sciences. It should be demonstrated that the principles which have been evolved by natural sciences have no value in human life apart from their moral and religious test and that Hindu Culture in its essence in no way conflicts with those principles but on the other hand it supplies a rational basis for the solution of a variety of problems which have led the world into its present state. I would like to impress upon the minds of the new generation of economic enthusiasts that a new Heaven will never dawn upon this earth by a mere economic reconstruction of society. It will lead to perpetual war between vested interests and its opposing forces. Undoubtedly the present economic structure in so far as it is based on a bias towards capitalism has failed to promote the common interests of humanity, but the only effective way to oppose it is by laying stress not on conflicting but on the common interests of communities ; and this cannot be done unless the common interests are based on moral obligations deriving their sanction from a common religious faith which draws humanity together. Unless our economic and political institutions are related to the ultimate principles and philosophy of human life there is no possibility of an end to the conflicts and struggles which have almost become a permanent feature of the present civilization. It has been said that the East will have to give to the West a spiritual lead for reconstructing its materialistic culture. I cannot say whether such a time will come in the near future. But whenever it comes, and if the Hindu Culture has to take a part in such reconstruction we will first have to put our own house in order and lay the foundation of what I may call Neo-Hinduism by making it a religion of culture and not of mere rituals and by adapting the teachings of the *Bhagavad Gītā* to our present circumstances in the same manner in which Arjuna was asked to do by Śrī Kṛṣṇa. It is the duty of all Hindus to assist in the inauguration of this new era of refined Hinduism in which artificial distinctions among Hindus will have no place and in which their common culture will bind them together in a vital organism ; and I will con-

clude with expressing a firm hope that this Bhavan will make an effective contribution towards that end by presenting our ancient learning in a form which will make a successful appeal not only to the rising generation of the Hindu community but also to all persons—wherever they are—who look upon India as the Home of spiritual culture.

VIKRAMĀDITYA : OUR PILLAR OF FIRE*

By

Shri K. M. MUNSHI

I THANK you for the honour you have done me by asking me to preside over the biennial celebrations in your City in honour of Vikramāditya the national hero of India.

I will not go into the vexed question of his identity, The questions whether he rescued Āryāvarta from the barbarians two thousand years ago, or whether he rooted out the Kṣatrapas fifteen hundred years ago, I leave to learned scholars. To me, to you, and to the whole of India Vikramāditya is not a dead conqueror, but a living hero. In him we live and he lives in us. Who has not heard and admired that comrade of Kālidāsa and the patron of the nine literary gems? Which is the child in India for the last many centuries whose budding imagination has not been haunted by the friend of Vetāla, who brought on his shoulders the elusive corpse, which talked and talked and wanted an answer? Who has not yearned for the day when that mighty ruler would go about once again in our cities in disguise to learn of and redress our grievances? Have not generations lived in the hope of seeing once more the *Paraduḥkhabhañjana* who will live but to relieve our misery? Of all the heroes known to our history and mythology Vikramāditya is the only mortal whom popular suffrage of centuries has enthroned side by side with Śrī Rāmacandra and Śrī Kṛṣṇa in the national pantheon.

His name in our history had the charm which Cæsar's (Kaiser, Tsar and Cæsar) had in Europe. Kings aspiring to greatness have coveted no higher title than his name. Many rulers like Siddharāja Jayasiṁha of Gujarat spent their life in imitating his exploits. Was it not the inspiration of the title of Vikramāditya which he bore that urged the last Hindu ruler of Delhi to go forth to fight the foreigner who sought to enslave the Motherland?

What is it that on this two thousandth year of the Saṁvat Era makes the whole of India celebrate this national festival? What is the psychological urge that has driven us to this re-apotheosis of un unforgettable hero?

To us, who are in bondage to a foreign master, Vikramāditya is not a historic memory nor a mere name of pride. He is something more. He is the symbol of Indian unity; the Cakravartī who stands for the aspirations of our nation. To us he stands for two thousand years of national memories; for all which we take pride in the past, yearn for in the present and look forward to in the future; for that greatness which is born of a fusion of political power, national independence, social harmony and cultural magnificence.

* Address delivered at the Cawnpore Celebrations : December 9, 1943.

I

I invite you to look back for a moment to the glorious race memories from which this apotheosis of Vikramāditya springs.

In the dawn of history the foundation of the world's civilisation was laid on the banks of the Sindhu and the Narmadā. When the rest of it was just emerging from the Stone Age we had the city state and the trade organisation, the potter's wheel and the carver's knife, artistic metallurgy and exquisite seal cutting, baths and public buildings, geometry, star-reckoning, magic formulas and writing tablets We had the worship of the Mother and Paśupati, Lord Śiva. With that little icon of Paśupati buried for six thousand years in the sands of the Indus Valley begins the unbroken thread of our life which at present is seen in its luxuriance in Amarnātha in Kashmir and Rāmeśvara at Cape Comorin, in the million temples where to-day the Nandi kneels to his master, the god of gods, Mahādeva.

We passed on the torch of civilisation to Sumer ; Sumer passed it on to Babylonia and Syria ; from thence it was passed on to the West.

Let me turn back to India.

Life grows fuller, richer and nobler. The banks of the Sarasvatī are studded with the āśramas of Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra, Bhṛgu and Aṅgiras, the founders of Dharma. From there radiates a culture purified by the noble grandeur of men who lived in God. Times change. Divodāsa destroys the fortresses of Śambara. Viśvāmitra fights Vasiṣṭha and out of a conflict of races is born a hierarchy of castes on the basis of culture.

This wonderful social synthesis—Varṇāśramadharma—provided an interdependence of social groups, the steel frame which buttressed the social order and Dharma itself. We have been taught not to see what this social order has been for us. But for it we could not have offered resistance against the insidious advance of cultural disintegration which Europe carries into the alien peoples whom she wants to exploit and enslave.

Again the scene changes.

Paraśurama the son of Ṛṣi leads the Aryans to the Narmadā—the first among those who destroy those who threatened Dharma. Ṛṣis follow in the wake of his conquering hosts and from Vārāṇasī in the east to Bhṛgukaccha in the south are chanted Vedic mantras of eternal beauty. Out of this conflict associated with the name of Paraśurāma is born an age of power and culture which transmutes alien people into members of an organic society.

The scene again shifts.

We build up the tradition of the first all-India Cakravartī Bharata, the son of Duṣyanta, the grandson of Viśvāmitra, the Emperor who gave his name to the land, Bhāratavarṣa. At Hastināpura,—at Āsandīvat to be accurate,—the empire of Kuru-Pañcālas is founded which slowly spreads out from Takṣaśilā near Peshawar to the frontiers of Bengal. And there arise in our midst two mighty men, worshipped as God Himself descended on earth. One is Vyāsa, the first among the Prophets who have taught Dharma.

The second is Śrī Kṛṣṇa, the lover, the statesman, the warrior, to whom India offers its united homage as the majestic representative of India's power of which Dharma is the source. He has come, so that the enemies of Dharma may be uprooted. He has come, for Dharma has to be re-established. And again on the battle of Kurukṣetra, meet the kings ruling over India north of the Kṛṣṇā. In that mighty conflict in which Srī Kṛṣṇa supports Dharma, an all-India consciousness is evolved.

Round the conception of the Cakravartī were woven two great ideas. The Cakravartī is the suzerain of India. He is also the upholder of Dharma. The concept of a conquering hero of the Aryans is thus converted into the idea of an all-India emperor upholding Ārya Dharma.

II

Jarāsandha, the Asura of Magadha, was vanquished by Śrī Kṛṣṇa ; his country was absorbed in Āryāvarta. But vanquished Magadha conquered her conquerors. The Śiśunāgas (c. 700 B.C.) were the next Cakravartīs of India. Buddha contributed not a little to the idea of an all controlling personality which represented Dharma, though his influence, unlike Kṛṣṇa's, was divorced from political power. Imperial power was forged on a countrywide scale when Candragupta Maurya (B.C. 325-301) the Cakravartī and Kauṭilya the architect of a mighty political fabric, combined to materialise the conception that India, one in culture, was also one in politics. But when Candragupta's grandson Aśoka came to the throne of Pāṭalīputra India's dream was realised. The Cakra of power and the Cakra of Dharma were wielded by a single hand. This dream, so wonderfully realised, thenceforth became one of the fundamental ideas of our ancient culture. In the national mind, all-India political power came to be indissolubly wedded to Dharma as the end and aim of corporate life. The mind became ready to receive the seed of the Vikramāditya idea.

The glorious empire of Magadha which Śiśunāga founded continued till 79 B.C. giving India the unity of social organisation and cultural outlook. But the power of Magadha declined. The Barbarians—the Bactio-Greeks, the Parthians, the Yueh-chis—broke into India. Then came this mighty Vikramāditya. No details of his exploits have come down to us. But he drove out, repressed, absorbed the Barbarians,—a mighty feat which in the national mind of India came to be carved in letters of undying fire.

Paraśurāma was divine ; he destroyed the enemies of Dharma ; but he was too fierce to be loved. Śrī Kṛṣṇa was divine too ; he stood for Dharma ; but he wore no crown. Aśoka upheld Dharma but inherited an empire already rendered safe. But the Vikramāditya became dearer, for he was human. He drove out the Barbarians ; he founded a political power of strength ; he inspired literature and art ; he protected the Dharma ; above all he looked after the needy and the distressed. He was a wonderful composite of the shining memories of Paraśurāma and Śrī Kṛṣṇa, of Buddha and

Aśoka ; infinitely nearer to us by his more human and therefore endearing light.

Vikramāditya henceforward became the beloved of the nation.

III

The Empire of the Śātavāhanas succeeded the Empire of Magadha. The heart of Āryāvarta, on account of barbarian inroads, was shifted to the banks of the Godāvarī. From Paithan on the Godāvarī, which was then India's capital, the Śātavāhanas waged a holy war of Dharma. Śātakarṇi I, the founder of the line, is also considered to be the original Vikramāditya ; any way he had the 'Vikrama' touch.

Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi (c. A.D. 106-130) like a second Paraśurāma, destroyed the Śaka, Yavana, Pahlava and the Kṣatriyas. He was the flaming sword of Ārya Dharma. His decisive victories added a fresh zest to the absorptive genius of our culture. The barbarians who were fighting it themselves soon became its ardent followers. Rudradāman (A.D. 130-150) the son of the foreigner Caṣṭan became the upholder of Dharma ; while the Kuṣan conqueror Kaniṣka was another, a devout Buddhist, the most powerful instrument of spreading Mahāyāna Buddhism in Asia. His grandson Vasudeva (c. 152-175) was a Śaiva, and a patron of Indian culture.

The author of *Matsya Purāṇa,* writing perhaps at Nasik, is unhappy. In the north, the kings are 'contemptible and irascible.' But he sees the rise of Dharma in Magadha. Candragupta I in 320 A.D. founds the Empire of the Guptas. His son Samudragupta (A.D. 330-380) one of the most brilliant conquerors in history, subdues most of the kings in the country in a whirlwind campaign ; restores Dharma in Āryāvarta ; performs an Aśvamedha ; and assumes the title of Dharmāditya. His younger son Candragupta Vikramāditya, (380-415 A.D.), the original Vikramāditya, according to one view, annexes Western India ; transfers the capital to Ujjayini ; is the friend of the original Kālidāsa. India reaches its height under him. His son and grandson (415-467 A.D.) maintain the empire and uphold Dharma.

The age of the Imperial Guptas is reckoned the Golden Age of India. Life and culture, science and letters flourished as never before. The administrative system—which practically continued till the British conquered India—became a part of life's structure. Smṛtis became the common law ; Bhāgavata Dharma, a national church ; Purāṇas, the universal educative agency.

Five generations of emperors in one family became defenders of the faith, of whom the greatest was Vikramāditya. Of them Vikramāditya was the symbol of India, free and strong, the homeland of culture and of righteousness.

IV

The irruptions of the Hūṇas began about 475 A.D. In c. 500 A.D. Toramāṇa occupied Mālava. But by 533 A.D. a mighty warrior Yaśodharman

had arisen in Mālava. He rallied the national forces of Āryāvarta and broke the Hūṇas. This great Yaśodharman as a liberator of the land is sometimes identified with Vikramāditya.

In c. 550 A.D. Īśānavarman the Maukharī founded the power of Kanauja, which was soon to be the capital of Āryāvarta. It soon passed out of his son's hands into those of Śrī Harṣa the Puṣpabhūti, who came to the throne of imperial Kanauja in 606 A.D. and became the Emperor of Uttarāpatha (North). The Deccan carried forward the imperial tradition of Śātavāhanas and Pulakeśī the Cālukya of Vātāpi rightfully came to be called the 'Emperor of Dakṣiṇāpatha.' Śrī Harṣa was a true successor of the imperial Guptas. Tolerant, learned, of unblemished character and imbued with noble ideals, he raised the Empire to the height of power and culture.

He died in 647 A.D. : political confusion followed. But by 700 A.D. Gūrjaradeśa had come into great prominence. Its warrior clans, from 550 A.D., had already been forging ahead under the lead of the Pratīhāras.

In c. 735 A.D. the Arabs invade India, possibly through Kutch and Kathiawar. Nāgabhaṭa of the Pratīhāra dynasty, possibly ruling at Śrīmāla, rises in a mighty defiance ; drives back the invaders ; and establishes himself at Ujjain. He claims descent from Lakṣmaṇa, the brother of Śrī Rāmacandra, and is compared with Nārāyaṇa rising from the primæval waters. His epic resistance sends back the Arab, sadder and wiser. His descendants grow in power ; wage wars against the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Karṇāṭaka and the Pālas of Bengal ; and ultimately capture the imperial capital, Kanauja. Nāgabhaṭa II (800-834 A.D) becomes the greatest emperor in India of the day.

His grandson Mihira Bhoja whose records are still being pieced together, one of the greatest kings of all time, revives the memories of Vikramāditya. From 836 A.D. to 888 A.D. he rules the Empire of Gūrjaradeśa ; recaptures Sindh and re-converts the people from Islam ; supports the Brāhmaṇa—Śāhi king of Kabul engaged in resisting Islamic aggression ; holds in abeyance the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the south. His sway extends from the Punjab to East Bengal. He claims to be an Ikṣvāku ; is the defender of Dharma ; as the rival of Śrī Rāma is reckoned not a mortal but a god. The Arab travellers attest to the might of this B'urah of Juzr, the Ādivarāha of Gūrjara. They describe him as their bitterest enemy. He is in fact and spirit what his son Mahīpāla (914-94 A.D.) is described by the poet Rājaśekhara : 'The Mahārājādhirāja of Āryāvarta'.

Our historians have still to tell us about this period. For about 200 years India saw the revival of its best traditions. It was the age of Śaṅkara and Vācaspatimiśra ; of Medhātithi and Devala ; of Māgha and Rājaśekhara.

When Sabaktagin and his son Sulṭān Mahmud of Ghazna, one of the greatest military geniuses in history, invaded India, the Brāhmaṇa Śāhi kings of Afghanistan and the Punjab, father, son and grandson, Jayapāla, Āandapāla and Trilocanapāla, as the guardians of India's gates, resisted foreign aggression. In a gesture of sublime dedication they sacrificed themselves and their

people to save their honour, their Dharma and their Motherland. These Vikramādityas of frustrated destiny 'who were never slow in doing what was good and right' hoisted the proud banner of the ideal over a humiliated land. Only after 22 years Mahmud could subjugate the Punjab. Then he sacked Kanauja in 1022 A.D. and destroyed the magnificence which emperors from Śrī Harṣa to Mihira Bhoja had built up.

The shadow emperor—a contemptible relic of the *Raghukula-bhū Cakravartīs*,—the world's suzerain of the divine line of Ikṣvākus—accepted the vassalage of the Turkish raider, and was slain by the proud Vidyādhara Cāndella, (c. A.D. 1009-1050) his feudatory, for the crime of selling his honour to save his skin.

In the meantime Bhoja the Magnificent (1010-1054 A.D.) the descendant of one of the Paramāra hierarchs of Gūrjaradeśa had waxed into a great ruler. And when in 1024 A.D. Mahmud marched on Gujarat, Bhoja led a confederate army, trapped the Sultan into Kathiawar and forced him to a disastrous retreat through the burning desert of Kutch. Between 1020 and 1044 A.D. Bhoja was the greatest emperor in the land with power and magnificence, so much Vikrama-like that his memories and associations have been inextricably mixed up with Vikramāditya himself. A poet, a patron of learning, a builder of great imagination, a conqueror, and a philosopher—he was one of the greatest of those who were ever called to the throne. And throughout life he had as his associates Rājendra and Rājarāja Cola, two great emperors of Tanjore whose sway extended over the whole of the country south of the Kṛṣṇā, the East Coast, Ceylon, Java and Sumatra.

V

This period came to an end when Mahomed of Ghura in 1175 A.D. began his plundering adventures against India. Indian rulers had so far waged wars according to well regulated canons of Dharma. Shrines, women and children, Brāhmaṇas and cows, even towns and villages had always been immune from war-like attention. An enemy was not to be killed except in battle; and his women and children were as sacrosanct as one's own. The Central Asian raiders, anxious to plunder and destroy, knew no such limitations. Simply they flung themselves, thirsty of blood and booty, on their victims. The Indian rulers were no match for such antagonists—not in strength of which there was plenty, but in culture, or rather in want of it.

When Mahmud of Ghazna was destroying Ānandapāla and his people ruthlessly he was faced by a danger on the Central Asian front of his empire. Ānandapāla according to Alberuni sent him a message. "You are in difficulties, therefore I won't fight you. Go and defeat Ilak Khan. When you come back, we shall fight." Mahmud declared a truce, accepted 5000 men, defeated Ilak Khan; returned and destroyed Ānandapāla. What sublime sense of fair play! And how idiotic against a ruthless foe!

Another instance. From 1193 A.D. Aibak and his successors destroyed holy places. Thousands of shrines were desecrated. Mosques rose in their

places. In 1264 A.D. Arjunadeva the Vāghelā king of Patan issued a grant to a Muslim to guarantee lands dedicated to a mosque in Prabhāsa Paṭṭaṇa, with the blessings of the religious head of the shrine of Somnath!

We had no knowledge of the world outside India. We heeded not what Medhātithi had written in the time of Mihira Bhoja. "Never respect the difficulties of the enemy." We forgot the advice of Śrī Kṛṣṇa that such faint-hearted considerations were 'un-Aryan, heaven-barring, disgraceful'. We went under, for we were too humane.

From 1200 A.D. began a period of stern resistance. The Sultanate of Delhi was a raiding camp, wherefrom ambitious Turkish and Afghan military leaders with the help of trans-frontier mercenaries swept over a civilized country in search of loot, regardless of humanity. The court chronicles of the Sultanate naturally do not present the other side of the picture. It was a picture of resistance which was being offered day after day to these free-booters: of men who flung away life to preserve their freedom; of women who courted fire to escape dishonour; of children who filled wells to escape slavery. This vast movement segregated the Muslim chiefs into the narrowest bounds of political action; stiffened bonds and hardened customs to save the social organisation; and gave birth to cultural agencies like the Bhakti school in order to preserve Dharma.

Many were the Vīkramādityas of frustrated destiny who fought and died in thousand ways so that Dharma might live. Their epic is still to be written. Of them all the first was the brilliant and impetuous Pṛthvīrāja; the type and model of all later resisters. The first centre of resistance was Raṇathambhor which year after year rose in defiance till it was wiped off: the noblest was Chitore which again and again sent its young men to die that Dharma might live. The last great resister of the period was Hemu, Vikramāditya, who in 1556 A.D. fought Behramkhan to the last breath of his life.

VI

This titanic resistance resulted in blunting the fury of aggression, of creating a synthesis. Hindus and Muslims reconciled themselves to each other. Slowly religious differences ceased to count; tolerance and mutual adjustments followed. Akbar, the real founder of the Moghul Empire which was essentially Indian, placed himself at the head of the synthesis. A generous man, a tolerant ruler, a far-sighted statesman, an unrivalled warrior and a great empire-builder, he reared a superstructure on the united strength of Hindus and Muslims. He created a new India, an India of toleration and mutual understanding. He gave the country the peace it wanted. The generous hearted Indian adopted him as their own: a kind of Vikramāditya by adoption.

Against Akbar stood the lone figure of Pratāpa, the proud heir to Chitore's undying glory, refusing to bend his knee to one whom he called the 'Turk'. He was built of the stuff of which the heroes of the unattainable are made. He was an ideal in flesh and blood. He died, but is an immortal, a Vikramāditya of frustrated destiny, stronger than death itself.

But Aurangzeb undermined the synthetic empire. Śivājī in the south and the Sikh Gurus in the north, the standard bearers of the Dharma, rose in revolt. The resistance which had been blunted by the broad statesmanship of Akbar now gained a new edge; and when Aurangzeb died the Moghul Empire was dissolved in 1707 A.D. On the ruins of that empire rose the Empire of the Marāṭhās. Śivājī Mahārāja had revived the spirit of Vikramāditya.

In the meantime the Europeans came to the country to trade by guile and remained to rule by force. They hired Indian mercenaries; bribed or pampered effete or selfish rulers. Against this foreign penetration, many were the heroes who battled fiercely in defence of their land. They failed; the imperial power of Poona, before it could consolidate itself, dissolved under the pressure of internal dissension and external aggression. The British won the battle of Kirkee in 1818, and the last of the Indian empires collapsed. Foreigners came to dominate the land. When the last armed attempt at regaining independence met with failure in 1857, the country lay prostrate before its foreign conquerors.

We were in advance of the world physically, morally, mentally; but we lacked the art of organised destruction.

We were vanquished. We were disarmed. Our proud traditions of heroism were broken, obliterated. We have now been bearing the badge of slavery in the land of our birth. Vikramāditya alone has remained with us, the lodestar of our desires,—Vikramāditya, the quintessence of the power, the culture and the freedom which are ours by right.

VII

Let us examine what brings us together in the name of Vikramāditya. It is not a mere matter of glorifying the past; nor of enjoying the present. The urge behind the celebrations is the upsurgence of a subconscious national motive. In the apotheosis of this hero we seek the unabashed expression of our supreme desire. In it, we stand as what we are—the heirs to immortal greatness. Our country is in distress, but that does not frighten us. Our educational background would make of us spineless intellectuals; we refuse to be such. In these celebrations we are alive with the passions of a living, quivering faith. We shed the chains which stifle us. We stand up as men true to the genius of the land. And as we look back with pride upon the golden age of a departed Vikramāditya, so do we look forward to the greater age of a future Vikramāditya.

Of the millions in this land the vast majority is knit together by race and traditions; by the bonds of language and literature; by the closely woven texture of our social organisation. They are compact with the unity which Vikramāditya symbolizes today. Why of all people in the world should we alone be apologetic or be ashamed of the motive? Vikramāditya is an impelling conception and therefore a living faith. It is a faith of political power, strong and overarching, unsubjected to a foreign power, emanating from and

resting on our own strength ; a faith inspired and supported by the genius of our own social order, and literary and æsthetic heritage ; a faith which is founded on Dharma.

I want you to be under no illusion when I use the word Dharma. The Dharma of which Vikramāditya is the embodiment is not a religion, not 'Hinduism' as we are taught to call it, not caste system as we know it ; nor cheap communal arrogance. It is a way of living. It is culture in its most comprehensive meaning. It is the overarching law of life. It consists of rituals and myths ; of modes of life and canons of conduct : of tradition and outlook ; of wealth of language and literature ; of a theory of life and a social organisation ; and of living ideals : all which were moulded by the genius of our race and land. The belief in the Vedas as the ultimate source of Dharma gives to our people, to whatever race they belong, a conscious unity of life and history. The mythology which surrounds it embraces the sacred legends of rivers, mountains and cities, of heroes and sages, human and divine. The social organisation as shaped by it is based on family life dominated by patriarchal tradition, affording shelter to every needy, helpless member ; imposing, as a corollary, a strict regard to feminine virtue, so essential to preserve the purity of race and culture. This social order is not based on class war, but an inalienable interdependence of social groups ; on a hierarchy arranged according to the degree of culture attained by each.

In its changeless essentials Dharma is the Law, the Word, and the Mother. All conduct is to be regulated by one unchanging law based on the absolute ethical values of Non-violence, Truth, Non-stealing, Non-waste and Non-possession ; to be inspired by a faith in human endeavour as self-discipline, leading man out of his limitations to become 'The Supreme' in this life.

The Word is the literary heritage for which Saṁskṛta stands. It is the vehicle of Dharma conveying it from age to age. The shrine of our past, it is the strength of our present and the inspiration of our future.

And its base is the living conception of the Mother—the holy Āryāvarta, —the Bhārata Mātā, our hope and solace in this world and the next, inspiring an abiding veneration for those who lived and died so that She may live, free, great and eternal.

Round this Dharma, as its guide, upholder, and protector, has been woven our conception of Vikramāditya

Let us not therefore feel hesitant about what is our heart's desire. We may be circumscribed. We may feel it to be a dream, though cherished. But let us be honest to ourselves. Dreams are greater part of us than the words we speak or the deeds we do. We desire, we yearn for, a Vikramāditya ; for, he represents the only condition under which we may attain the full stature, when the Motherland is a national home of power and culture by the right of our own strength.

Vikramāditya is our Pillar of Fire, leading us on from bondage to the Land of Promise.

THE SERPENT AND THE BIRD

By

DR. MARYLA FALK

THE distinctive and consistent symbolism of late Vedic and post-Vedic speculation has its pre-history in a complex of mythical conceptions of the early Ṛgveda. The latter are a prelude to the former : singly, most of the elements are already there and their connection is established ; but a revolutionizing change of viewpoints and aims, which takes place during the period of the later Ṛgveda, invests them with a new meaning ; while maintaining and adapting the old cosmological myths, it superimposes new psychological valuations, and complements the original phases of the cosmogonic drama with a crowning soteriological solution. The transition from the earlier to the later stage of one and the same motif is thus observable already in the ṚV, but the full speculative elaboration is to be found in the doctrinal treatises, which also provide detailed interpretations of the inherent symbolism.[1]

The following is a study of the hitherto unnoticed motif connecting, as far back as the oldest strata of the ṚV, the mythical figurations of the cosmic Serpent with those of the cosmic Bird.

The serpent is of course in the first place Vṛtra, the "encompasser," the *prathamajā ahīnām* (I, 32, 3d, 4a), who lay on the summit of the cosmic mountain (2), at the top of the skyey vault, to form the upper bottom of the atmosphere (*rajaso budhnam āśayat*, I, 52, 6b). The very wording of the phrase recalls another Vedic figuration of the cosmic Serpent, the Ahi Budhnya. In fact the "bottom" where the latter resides is equally not below but above the human world : it was an actual bottom with regard to the original receptacle of the heavenly waters, which eventually descended in the skyey "rivers" through the atmosphere to the earth. The phrase *budhne nadīnām rajaḥsu śīdan* referred to this *ahi* in VII, 34. 16 clearly corresponds to the phrase *rajaso budhnam āśayat* referred to Vṛtra. According to the primitive Vedic conception our world with the atmosphere above it is shut off by the vault of the sky from the transcosmic region, which extends beyond it, of the heavenly light-waters, the seat of immortality and the ultimate fountainhead of life. The cleaving of the heavenly vault[2] and

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[1] For a complete survey of the later stage of thought and its subsequent philosophical developments in ancient India, see my work *Il Mito Psicologico nell'India Antica*, publ. by the Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Memorie, Ser. VI, Vol. VIII, 1939. Studies of single motifs in both the earlier and the later stages : *Amāvāsyā in Mythical and Philosophical Thought*, IHQ, March 1942, pp. 26-45 ; *The Story of The Pearl* (still unpublished) ; etc.

[2] Vṛtra is the sky, cf. I, 80, 13.

the overturning of the supernal well of the life-giving waters identified with soma are two concurrent and complementary images of the same achievement, of Indra's outstanding feat—the *ahihatya*[3].

The oldest mode of that notion is more comprehensive : the original heavenly seat of the Rivers—the primal birthplace of heaven and earth (VII, 34, 2)—is guarded by the terrible thousand-eyed Varuṇa (10). He is the king of those kingdoms, the (original) form of those rivers[4] ; insuperable is his dominion which contains the all-life (11). The tenor of these old documents of Varuṇa-worship insists on extolling that trans-cosmic domain as insuperable, although the most diffused myth of the Vedic age bears out the notion that it suffered violence. It suffered violence when Indra broke or pierced the upper enclosure, thus opening a way for the waters shut off and encompassed by the body of the Ahi (I, 32, 1 ; etc. etc.). Under Indra's strokes the cleaving body of the Serpent let gush forth the "heady waters" (*mano ruhāṇā .. āpaḥ*), and lay dismembered and dispersed, hurled down from heaven to earth (7, 8, 5). By this feat Indra conquered the Soma, made the seven rivers flow (12), won the sun[5] or caused it to come forth

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[3] See e.g. VIII, 72, 8, 10-11 : *ā daśabhir vivasvata indraḥ kośam acucyavīt | khedayā trivṛtā divaḥ |* ("with the ten—fingers—Indra spilled Vivasvat's receptacle of heaven by means of the threefold hammer"). *siñcanti namasāvatam uccācakram parijmānam | nicīnabāram akṣitam ||* "they (the *hotāraḥ* mentioned in 9) with reverence pour out the untarishing well whose wheel is above, which goes round (the vault of heaven in its daily evolution), whose opening is below. *abhyāram id adrayo niṣiktam puṣkare madhu | avatasya visarjane ||* "Ready is the mead poured from the rock in the blue lotos, the well having been shed."

Sometimes the Maruts are associated with Indra in this connexion—at times also the myth of the heavenly well is secondarily mixed up with a legend of the Gotama-clan (cf. I, 88,4). This notwithstanding its import remains perfectly clear. I. 85, 9—11 : *tvaṣṭā yad vajraṃ sukṛtaṃ hiraṇyayaṃ sahasrabhṛṣṭiṃ svapā avartayat | dhatta indra nary apāṃsi kartave 'han vṛtraṃ nir apām aubjad arṇavam || ūrdhvaṃ nunudre 'vataṃ ta ojasā dādṛhāṇaṃ cid bibhiduṛ vi parvatam | ... jihmaṃ nunudre 'vataṃ tayā diśāsiñcann utsaṃ gotamāya tṛṣṇaje | ...* In connection with the Gotama legend the feat is attributed to the Aśvins in I, 116, 9 : *parāvataṃ nāsatyānudehām uccābudhnaṃ cakratur jihmabāram |*

See also I, 130, 2-9 : *pibā somam indra suvānam adribhiḥ kośena siktam avataṃ na vaṃsagas tātṛṣāṇo .... avindad divo nihitaṃ guhā nidhim veṛ na garbham parivītam aśmany anante antar aśmani | vrajam vajrī gavām iva siṣāsann aṅgirastamaḥ | apāvṛṇod iṣa indraḥ parīvṛtā dvāra iṣaḥ parīvṛtāḥ || dādṛhāṇo vajram indro gabhastyoḥ kṣadmeva tigmam asanāya saṃ śyad a h i h a t y ā y a saṃ śyat |... tvaṃ vṛthā nadya indra sartave 'cchā samudraṃ asṛjas ... || bhinat puro navatim indra ... śambaraṃ girer ugro avābharat ... vācam aruṇo muṣāyati iśāna ā muṣāyati | ...*

And II, 24, 2-4 : *yo nantvāni anamaṃ ny ojasotādardar manyunā śambarāṇi vi | prācyāvayad acyutā brahmaṇaspatir* (identified with Indra in this hymn) *ā cāviśad vasumantaṃ vi parvatam || tad devānaṃ devatamāya kartvam aśrathnan dṛḷhā-vradanta vīḷhitā | ud gā ājad abhinad brahmaṇā valam aguhat tamo vyacakṣayat svaḥ || aśmāsyam avatam brahmaṇaspatir madhudhāram abhi yas ojasātṛṇat | tam eva viśve papire svardṛśo bahu sākaṃ sisicur utsam udriṇam ||*

[4] Namely as the *samudra apicya* (VIII, 41, 8a) ; cf. 5e *rūpaṃ dyaur iva puṣyati.*

[5] Cf. I, 100, 6b *sūryaṃ sanat* and 13a *tasya vajraḥ krandati ... svarṣā |*

(cf. II, 19, 3c *ajanayat sūryam*)[6] and brought the light of day (4). These are not distinct achievements, but one and the same (cf. III, 44, 2 and 5; VIII, 76, 3 and 4[7]). In fact the waters thus brought down are not understood merely in a naturistic sense as the fertilizing rain which had been pent up in the cloud or as the torrents which had been pent up by frost in the mountains, though this was currently assumed by over-simplifying exegesis; in all the pertinent texts they are conceived pre-eminently as the luminous waters of the hypercosmic ocean, whose heady essence is the soma-juice, and whose light penetrates to us through the openings formed by the luminaries[8], pouring down in the rays. The same is also the fountainhead of the vivifying rain.[9] It is by piercing these openings in the Serpent's body, in the enclosing firmament,[10] that Indra caused the streams of the life-giving light-waters to flow down. (There can be no doubt that the celestial Soma was understood to be the inner hidden life-essence of Vṛtra: thus II, 11, 5 states *guhā hitaṃ guhyaṃ gūḷham apsv apīvṛtam māyināṃ kṣiyantam uto apo dyām tastabhvāṃsam ahann ahiṃ śūra vīryeṇa*, but III 39, 6c refers the terms of 11a to Soma, and so does X, 148, 2a.)

But this does not imply that earthly life was actually created by the feat of Indra. In fact it is noteworthy that not one of the countless references to this event with all their laudatory magnifications of the deed ever ventures this particular assertion. No doubt but the firmly accepted opinion is to the effect that nether life was there before—although its source, the imperishable well of life, is regularly stated to be in the uppermost heaven,[11] in its third innermost recess.[12] Some texts give evidence in regard to the question how life was being brought down to the nether world before the cosmic catastrophe wrought by Indra. Thus the hymn X, 123 connects the golden-winged messenger of Varuṇa (6) who came down sounding as the stream of soma (4) with the birth of Yama, the human ancestor, from the

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[6] In fact the sun is "born from Vṛtra" according to AV IV, 10, 5b *vṛtrāj jāto divākaraḥ* |

[7] *indro vi vṛtram airayat* | *sṛjant samudriyā apaḥ* || *ayaṃ ha yena vā idaṃ svaṛ* .... *jitam* | *indrena somapītaye* || See also I, 51, 4 *tvam apām apidhānāvṛṇor apādhārayaḥ parvate dānumad vasu* | *vṛtram yad indra śavasāvadhir ahim ād it sūryaṃ divy ārohayo dṛśe* || I, 32, 4 *yad indrāhan prathamajām ahīnām ān māyināṃ* (namely of the Asuras) *amināḥ prota māyāḥ* | *āt sūryam janayan* ...

[8] See *II Mito Psicologico nell' India Antica*, p. 313(25).

[9] *yābhir ādityas tapati raśmibhis tābhiḥ parjanyo varṣati.* (Taitt. Ār. X. 63). *yadā khalu vā asāv ādityo nyāṅ raśmibhiḥ paryāvartate 'tha varṣati* (Taitt. Saṃh. II, 4, 10, 2).

[10] VIII, 100, 7, etc.

[11] IV, 26, 6 *somam....divo amuṣmād uttarād ādāya.*

[12] *Trir uttamā dhṛṇaśā rocanāni trayo rājanty asurasya vīrāḥ* III, 56, 8, cf. VI, 44, 23cd *rocaneṣu triteṣu.... amṛtaṃ nigūḷham*; etc. cf. n. 14. The three heavens are represented both as rising one above the other: *uttama, madhyama, avama* (V. 60. 6ab) and as concentrical (see text below). Their personal exponents are respectively Varuṇa, Mitra and Soma. Mitra is the heavenly fire-world: the earthly counterpart of Mitra is Agni (cf. III, 5, 4a).

"lofty Gandharva" and the Apsaras (5, 6, 7), in the place where the Waters and the Sun are united (1). The "wave" whose descent from the supernal ocean is impelled by the Vena (= the "Gandharva on high"[13]) is the life-bringing Soma-child, who is also identified with the Vena. Down from the birth-place of Yama[14a] he is brought by Varuṇa's messenger, the Suparṇa; he is seated on the Bird's golden wing (5). This is how the Lord of the Luminaries as both the fixed one (the enclosing firmament Varuṇa) and that which belongs to all the gods (i.e. as Soma) filled heaven and earth with the draught of life (VI, 67, 6 cd[14]). Life came from heaven in and as the gift of soma, brought by Varuṇa's messenger, the Bird. Thus the supernal essence has taken its abode in creatural existence, where it manifests itself in the ocean of the heart, the seat of life (IV, 58, 5a, 11 b), the nether counterpart of the supernal ocean.

But amongst the oldest Ṛgvedic legends there is also the relation of Soma's descent—or fall—from heaven against Varuṇa's decree and law. This is the canvas of the half-obliterated legend of *Trita*. Trita is originally Soma (or Soma's world and essence), the "third" because Soma's world, his abode, is the third, innermost, heaven (VI 44, 23cd)[15]—while *dvita* (V, 18, 2; see above, n. 12) is the heavenly fire-world, Agni as Apām Napāt, as the lightning dwelling in heaven (II, 35, 9-10), and the enveloping and outermost sphere (the term "first" does not occur in the RV, but the term *pārya*, "outermost", "extreme", is quite current[16]) is Varuṇa, "the encompasser",

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[13] He is the "lover" of the Great Mother, of the deity of the supernal Light-ocean (see below, n. 19) who is the transcosmic Sūryā (cf. *Amāvāsyā*, pp. 29-32). Reciprocally, she is the "lover" (*venā*) of the supernal Soma (*somasya venā* I, 34, 2b [= *sūre duhitā* | for *duhitā* see *Amāvāsyā*, p. 29] 5d. Cf. *Il Mito Psicologico*, pp. 334, 625 (46, 337).

[14a] Therefore Yama's world is the third heaven (I, 35, 6; IX, 113, 8), that of Soma (see n. 15). Cf. I, 35, 7 for the connexion with the Suparṇa's mission.

[14b] Such statements are in significant contrast with the assertion that the life-giving streams came down owing to Indra's conquest. See also II, 28, 4 *pra sīm ādityo asṛjad vidhartā ṛtaṃ sindhava varuṇasya yanti | na śrāmyanti na vi muñcanty ete vayo na paptū raghuyā parijman*. It is worthy of note that in such hymns of Varuṇa-worship the tale is quite different from that told in the Indra-hymns with regard to the release of the streams. The context of the above stanza provides an eloquent explanation of why the primeval dispensation of Varuṇa is here emphatically acknowledged as actual even in the present and Indra's rôle is significantly ignored: this hymn is a hymn of propitiation and deprecation of Varuṇa's avenging wrath that strikes and fetters man not only for personal sins but also for the *anyakṛta* (st. 9), for the parricidal deed of Indra in which the human being participate by sharing in its fruit. (See further on).

[15] IX, 113, 7-9: Soma dwells in the innermost enclosure of heaven (*yatrāvarodhanam divaḥ*), in the *amṛta loka*, where light is eternal, where radiance abides, where the extended waters are, where freedom dwells—on the third vault, in the third heaven of heaven (*triṇake tridive divaḥ*). Cf. IX, 86, 27 d: *tṛtīye pṛṣṭhe adhi rocane divaḥ* with VI, 44, 23 cd *divi rocaneṣu triteṣu .... amṛtam nigūlham*.

[16] Cf. VI, 23, 2; VII, 32, 14: VII, 83, 5. This is consequently where

the all-enclosing vault, the receptacle of the celestial essence,[17] of the "primal *ṛta*". Trita is also introduced as the exponent and original keeper of the heavenly Soma, and its archetypal distiller (IX, 102, 2-3)[18]. The story underlying the hymn I, 105 is that Trita fell from his supernal abode into a pit (i.e. into the structure of the atmospheric *rajas*) and became the Moon-bird straying in the sky (1; this is a very old evidence of the identification Soma = Moon)[19]. [The "naturistic" explanation of that fall can be inferred from allusions such as those of IX, 73: the fermentation of soma (1) broke its enclosure.[20] The great Varuṇa had hidden that ocean (3 c), the Asura made himself three heads to keep hold of it (1 c); yet it was seized (3 d, cf. 1 d).] Unable to find his way back home to the supernal world of the Asuras, Trita is consumed with grief (I, 105, 7 cd, 8 c) and invokes the devas to prevent lest the light fall from the sky, lest the felicitous Soma be lost (3). The devas help him, but only insofar as they keep him amongst themselves. He acquiesces in his fate and helps the devas to found the new ṛta. Henceforth he is their adherent, particularly of Indra: they will now use him to open up the path to Varuṇa's brahman, which, being mortals, they do not see and cannot tread upon to the yonder end (15, 16). But Trita's fall has wrought a vast change and upheaval in the cosmos. The great primal ṛta has

Indra's, and the conquering Trita's (see text below) exploits take place. In some of the later attempts at co-ordinating Indra with the highest deity Varuṇa (see further below) Indra is associated with Varuṇa *pārye divi* (VII, 83, 5).

[17] Naturally enough, Varuṇa as the all-encompassing deity of heaven represents also the other two which it contains; thus he is also Trita—before the fall, Trita the all-wise—VIII, 41, 6; Soma is Varuṇa, as well as Mitra IX, 77, 5 bc.

[18] Cf. *trito bibharti varuṇam* (Soma as the essence of Varuṇa) *samudre* IX, 95, 4 d.

[19] The Moon is born from Aditi, the great Mother of Heaven (*divas ..mahi mātā* V, 47, 1 ab), and is "the powerful receptacle of the (heavenly) waters, the shining Bird" (*ukṣā samudro aruṣaḥ suparṇaḥ* 3 a). When the Moon sets at sunrise (cf. stt. 1, 2) he returns "into the source of the primal father"; passing beyond the horizon, he is hidden in the centre of heaven (*pūrvasya yonim pitur ā viveśa | madhye divo nihitaḥ pṛśnir aśmā vi cakrame rajasas...antau* || 3 b-d). Four carry him and provide his abode (4a: the four phases); ten suckle the child for its procession (4 b: the ten days from the moon's reappearance to the full-moon night); threefold (*tridhātavaḥ*) are his supernal cows (the three heavens: 4 c). From him as King Soma descend the streams of the heavenly waters, but their supernal fulness is ever immovable: "This is a beautiful saying, ye people, that the streams wander but the waters stand firm; the two who bear him (earth and sky, who bear him as vessel of soma for the sake of Indra, cf. III, 46, 5) are different from the Mother (from the trans-cosmic Light-ocean, where he is unwaning); born in different places, (they are) twin sisters" (5).

Further evidence of the myth of King Soma in *Amāvāsyā*, op. cit. pp. 30 f., 34 ff., 39f., 45. In connexion with the *pañcāgnividyā* and the *karman-saṃsāra* doctrine: II *Mito Psicologico*, p. 371 f.

[20] Cf. also IX, 86, 20 *yataḥ pari kośān acikradat tritasya nāma janayan* ("causing the essence of Trita to flow forth", *ajanayat* = *sasṛje*, as II, 19, 3 c *ajanayat sūryam*—of Indra—, and I, 32, 4 c) *madhu kṣaral*.

disappeared,[21] another age, another cosmic order is taking its place (4, 5, 6, 12). Agni has followed suit in forsaking his primal mansions and his allegiance to the Asuras. This event is described in the Agni hymn X, 124 —a text particularly interesting in that it evidences the original import of the mythical conception of the victory of the Devas over the Asuras as that of a substitution of the younger generation of cosmic deities to the older abiding beyond the cosmos, though ruling also the latter.

The first st. invokes Agni to come to the sacrifice and become the bearer of oblations, after having so long lain in darkness (*jyok....dīrgham tama āśayiṣṭhāḥ*, d)—namely in the "belly of the Asura" (whence he sprang, see III, 29, 14 d : *asurasya jaṭharāt* ; cf. I, 54, 10 *apām atiṣṭhād dharuṇahvaram tamo 'ntar vṛtrasya jaṭhareṣu parvataḥ*), of the sky as father Tvaṣṭṛ (I, 95, 2 ; X, 2, 7)[22]. Agni replies : "from the non-deva (i.e. from the Asura) proceeding forth as a deva from the secret hiding-place and becoming manifest I go to (a new kind of) immortality—as, with ill-will forsaking him the benevolent, of my own choice I go to join a foreign family (2). Perceiving the guest (the deity invited to the sacral ceremony) of another generation I traverse the many abodes of ṛta ; I wish good luck to my father the Asura, (but as to me) I proceed from the part to which no sacrifice is offered (the realm of the Asuras) to that to which is being offered sacrifice (the realm of the Devas). Many years I have passed in that (Asura-world); choosing Indra, I abandon the father (Indra's and Agni's father Varuṇa); Agni,[23] Soma, Varuṇa fall (from their former dignity of supreme gods). Turning round (changing sides) I now help *this* realm (4).[24] Yonder Asuras have been

[21] *kva ṛtam pūrvyam gatam kas tad bibharti nūtanaḥ* (4 cd) ; *amī ye devāḥ sthana.... kad va ṛtam kad anṛtam* (5 a-c).

[22] Cf. I, 141, 4 ab *pra yat pituḥ paramān nīyate pary ā pṛkṣudho virudho daṃsu rohati ;* II, 9, 3 ab *vidhema te parame janmann agne vidhema stomair avare sadhasthe ;* VIII, 11, 7 *ā te vatso mano yamat paramāc cit sadhasthāt agne tvām-kāmayā girā.*

[23] I.e. the trans-cosmic Agni, the Asura Agni (cf. st. 2).

[24] Cf. X, 8, 7-8 another version of Trita's story : it is on Agni's initiative that Trita in his pit, (vainly) claiming the attention of yonder Father, as he was wont of old, and craving assistance while encompassed between heaven and earth (=in the "pit" of the cosmos), declaring his kinship (with Agni), seizes the weapons (which belonged to the Father, cf. Tvaṣṭr as artificer of the *vajra*). Knowing the fatherly weapons, the Āptya, impelled by Indra (see below), conquered : slaying the three-headed seven-rayed one, Trita propelled forth the cows of Tvāṣṭra. Strangely enough, *trimūrdhan saptaraśmi* is according to I, 146, 1 Agni himself. The only possible explanation seems to be that the Tvāṣṭra (Viśvarūpa) of X, 8, 8 is understood as the trans-cosmic stronghold of Agni (cf. III, 5, 5 c *pāti nābhā saptaśīrṣāṇam agniḥ*) against which the cosmic Agni (cf. the pāda b of I, 146, 1 *'nūnam agnim pitror upasthe*) battles in alliance with Indra and Trita. Thus also the cosmic Soma is in feud with the trans-cosmic, see below.

In the following st. it is no more Trita impelled by Indra, but Indra himself who kills Viśvarūpa (see text, below) : "The strong ruler Indra hurled down him who meant to wield the wide power (vested in) the cows of Viśvarūpa ; winning (them), he wrenched off the three heads."

deprived of their *māyā*; and if thou, O Varuṇa, desirest me, then separate, O King, the anṛta from the ṛta[25] and come to the rule of my kingdom (5). This daylight, this indeed has been the beloved, this light, this wide atmosphere: let us twain (Agni and Indra) *strike Vṛtra*; come forth, Soma, thou art now a libation, and we adore thee with libation (6). The wise one (Varuṇa = Vṛtra) by his wisdom (*kavitvā* = *māyayā*) fixed his body in the sky; but powerless Varuṇa suffered the waters to flow forth; conferring happiness like brides, these white rivers soaringly carry forth his (Varuṇa's) colour (7). They take over his most excellent energy, (whereas) he (Indra) dominates them that are heady with self-power; like subjects electing their king, full of fear they forsook Vṛtra (9). The companion of those full of fear (Soma the companion of the waters) they call the *Haṃsa*, who abides in the friendship of the heavenly waters. The wise *kavis* have described Indra, who hastens towards the song of praise (10).

Both these texts bear witness to the notion that the reign of the devas was established through their possession of Soma. A constant feature of the many versions of Indra's conquering deed is that he drew his victorious strength from the draught of soma (which had been brought for him by the śyena [I, 80, 2; III, 43, 7], or which, according to some of the alternative versions, he had received from Trita, according to others, he had stolen from his father Tvaṣṭṛ[26]). It is the possession of Soma that enables the Devas both to bring the cosmic realms under their sway and to storm the hypercosmic abodes of the Asuras[27] in order to obtain more soma—for this is their sustenance as Devas, the essence of their *devatva*, the entity owing to which they, who had originally been mortal (cf. I, 105, 10, AV. XI, 5, 19; IV, 11, 16), became immortal (cf. IX, 106 8d *tvāṃ devāso amṛtāya kaṃ papuḥ*; and IX, 53, 10[28]). At a later period, when "Immortality" will be essentially distin-

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[25] *an-ṛta* here in the sense of the trans-cosmic order (the *pūrvyam ṛtam* of the Trita-hymn, which has abandoned the cosmos since the devas rule it), contrasted with *ṛta* as the cosmic order of the devas; thus according to AV. IX, 15, 23 Aditi—mother of the Asuras and personification of the hypercosmic ocean—bestows *ṛta* but keeps *an-ṛta*. This trans-cosmic ṛta=the *guhyā vratā* (cf. I, 163, 3; III, 54, 5; X, 114, 2), contrasted with the cosmic ṛta in V, 63, 7, is maintained by the pre-cosmic *dharman* of the Asuras which renders their abode immovable: V, 72, 2.

[26] *yaj jāyathās tad ahar asya kāme 'mśoḥ piyūṣam apibo giriṣṭhām, taṃ te mātā....mahaḥ pitur dama āsiñcad agre....tvaṣṭāram indro januṣābhibhūyāmuṣyā somam apibac camūṣu* III, 48, 2, 4 cd.; *tvaṣṭur gṛhe apibat somam indraḥ śatadhanyam camvoḥ sutasya....kas te mātaraṃ vidhavām acakṛat* IV, 18, 3 cd, 12 a. Cf. also I, 61, 7 ab. According to IX, 106, 3 Indra seized as much Soma as he could hold and at the same time took hold of the vajra.

[27] Thus it is the Indra-like Soma—the Soma absorbed by Indra—that is the Vṛtrakiller and destroyer of the fortresses (IX, 88, 4 ab). Thus "the beautiful (Soma)[1] bears Indra's name under which he slew all the Vṛtras" (IX, 109, 14).

[28] The Ṛbhus (covertly referred to in X, 53, 10) have an important rôle in the attainment of the amṛtatva by the devas, for it is they who made Tvaṣṭṛ's soma-cup (the moon) into four (the four phases), thus providing half the substance for the devas to drink. Before that the whole moon was unwaning and

guished from indefinitely prolonged life, theirs will be specified as the relative "immortality of the devas", a life incomparably longer and more intense than the human. There is plenty of evidence to provide reply to the question what that exalting and magnifying agency of the soma-draught was censed to consist in. We have seen that individual life, centred in the "heart-ocean", was conceived to be a tiny counterpart and particle of the heavenly ocean of eternal all-life, whence it is derived. In its attenuation to the exiguity of individual existence the heavenly life-essence is mortal—but the heart-ocean can be increased, its power can be intensified by an accretion of its essence. The draught of soma is absorbed into the heart (VIII, 48, 4, 12, etc.; cf. IX, 86, 21d; I, 91, 13a; *avātaḥ*—untarnishing—*bhavā naḥ soma śaṃ hṛde* VIII, 79, 7[29]) and in it rouses *Vāc*[30], awakens the keen wisdom (VI, 47, 3); the essence of the immortal penetrates into the mortals (VIII, 48, 12) and increases their life (*ibid.* 4, 10), by acceeding to them it carries them to the region where life is expanded (11), i.e. to the luminous spheres where the Devas dwell in their amṛtatva: *apāma somam amṛtā abhūmāganma jyotir avidāma devān* (3). By another turn in the formulation of the same idea, it is the nectar-wave which rises from the heart-ocean and along the path of the soma-ray attains the amṛtatva (IV, 58, 1); the streams of soma (styled *ghṛta* in this hymn, soma being the "secret *nāman*", the ultimate essence of ghṛta) flow forth from the heart-ocean having in their midst a golden reed[31] (5).

invisible (cf. n. 19); but they knew its secret abode (*vidvāṃsaḥ padā guhyāni*, 10c) and with their axes did the work *yena devāso 'mṛtatvam ānaśuḥ* (10d).

[29] Cf. IV, 58, 11ab *dhāman te* (sc. *ghṛtasya* = *somasya*) *viśvam bhuvanam adhi śritam antaḥ samudre hṛdy antar āyuṣi*. X. 5, 1 *ekaḥ samudro dharuṇo rayīṇām asmad dhṛdo bhūrijanma vi caṣṭe*.

Hence the songs inspired by Soma pour forth from the heart-ocean like the waters from the heavenly one: *indrāya gira aniśitasargā apaḥ preraya sagarasya budhnāt* X, 89, 4ab. Cf. IV, 58, 6ab *samyak sravanti sarito na dhenā antarhṛdā manasā pūyamānāḥ*.

[30] *iyarti vācam* IX, 95, 2b. *hinvāno vācam matibhiḥ kavīnām* IX, 97, 32d. Thus Soma is the generator of thought (IX, 96, 5a), and, as *vāco agriya* (IX, 62, 25a), *vācaṃ janayan* (IX, 86, 33d), *agre vāco . . . gacchati* (*ibid.* 12). But it was the supernal Vāc who out of love (*takṣad . . . manaso venato vāk*, IX, 97, 22) produced Soma (= Vena, cf. above, p. 204, and n. 13) and gave it to the cosmos under the primal dispensation.

[31] The *vetasa hiraṇyaya* is the "secret" minimum-counterpart of the trans-cosmic immortal all-life, which abides in the heart. It is the "secret Prajāpati" according to AV. X, 7, 41 (*yo vetasaṃ hiraṇyayaṃ tiṣṭhantaṃ salile veda | sa vai guhyaḥ prajāpatiḥ* ||), the psychic aspect of the cosmic Skambha, of the world-pillar, in emitting whom his hypercosmic archetype, the father-Skambha, reversed his ancient position (*yatra skambhaḥ prajanayat purāṇam vyavartayat*, *ibid.*, 26ab); according to ṚV. I, 24, 7 only the trans-cosmic summit of the world-tree—cf. AV. *ibid.* st. 8cd—is kept upright by Varuṇa in the bottomless, but below the bottom—the firmament—it was turned upside down. Cf. the overturning of the hyper-cosmic well, above, note 3. He is the "Golden Germ" of immortality that the transcendent father poured into the cosmos (AV, *ibid.*, st. 28: *hiraṇyagarbham*

This increase of the share of vital essence, communicated to the living individual through soma[32] and manifested in all his aspirations to and realizations of wider and greater forms of existence is called *brahman*, "the entity of increase". Its main manifestation is sacral speech, is the hymn[33] : *yāvad brahma viṣṭhitaṃ tāvatī vāk* (X, 114, 8d). In sacrifice, in all relations with superhuman powers, it is the internal counterpart and complement of the sacral soma-offering, putting the individual on a level with the higher being and thus making the connexion possible. It is co-essential with, and only a wider expansion of, the *āyus* : hence it is eventually conceived, in a more general sense, as the secret and higher essence of life itself.

Naturally Varuṇa is the original producer and donor of brahman for each and sundry ; *brahmā kṛṇoti varuṇaḥ* I, 105, 15a. But under the present dispensation, all that is instrumental and operative in the endeavour of securing "immortality", of increasing and heightening life, comes under the category of *brahman*. Thus the process and arrangement of the *yajña*, which puts its participants on a level with the deity—apparently by the deity's descent as a guest to the place of sacrifice, but in the "true" and "hidden" sense by the elevation of the performance, with its ritual ingredients and its human participants, to the plane of the deity—is *brahman* ; so is of course the soma (cf. IX, 71, 1d) and so is the sacral song.[34]

Thus it is the additional share of the life-essence, the brahman in the shape of the sacral soma-draught, that temporarily transforms men into devas, in achieving the highest assertion of individuality fulfils the supreme aspiration of the singer of that age.

....*skambhas tad agre prāsiñcad dhiraṇyaṃ loke antarā*). He is the "Flower of the Waters", the psychic germ of immortal life, placed by *māyā* (34) in such intimate proximity that one cannot lose it but cannot descry it either (32)—for it is hidden in the innermost heart. Cf. *Il Mito Psicologico*, pp. 314-320. For *vetasa* = *apām puṣpa* cf. MS. iii, p. 38, 17=TS. V, 4, 4, 2.

[32] Cf. e.g. IX, 71, 1 cd *harir*.... *nabhas paya upastire camvor brahma nirṇije* ; II, 12, 14 c *yasya brahma vardhanam yasya somo*, VIII, 37, 1 *predam brahma vṛtratūryeṣu āvitha*, cf. VIII, 89, 3 ; IX, 86, 41cd.

[33] Cf. e.g. I, 62, 13 ; 75, 2 ; 80, 9.

[34] Late in the Ṛgvedic period the entity of the brahman was personified as Bṛhaspati or Brahmaṇaspati. (But even in post-Vedic texts the neuter essence is still discernible beneath the thin veneer of the personification : Bṛhaspati is the brahma of the gods : TS II, 2, 9, 1). For all creation he has been produced forth by Tvaṣṭṛ, out of each Sāman (II, 23, 17ab). He is naturally also identified with Tvaṣṭṛ as wielder of the soma-cup (II, 26, 3 cd, cf. X, 72, 2). From him, the Āsuric one, the gods obtained their share of sacrifice (II, 23, 2). The factitious personification admits in its looseness of free identification with any deity connected with the brahman—also with several of them at the same time ; thus, in connection with the heavenly abode of the brahman, Br. may be identical indiscriminately with any of the three deities personifying the three concentric heavenly spheres, i.e. Varuṇa, Mitra, and Pūṣan (= Soma) : X, 98, 1 ab.

It is from Varuṇa that the god Brahmán, the post-Vedic successor Brahmaṇaspati, inherited the four-faced aspect (cf. *cāturanikaḥ* .... *varuṇaḥ* V, 48, 5ab).

Thus it is the additional share of that essence, obtained through the fall of Soma=Trita, that first made the Devas into what they are. Soma=Trita, the fallen Asura, becomes the powerful, and power-giving, ally of the Devas and opens for them the path to Varuṇa's brahman, which they as mortals cannot traverse, cannot even descry (I, 105, 15-16). This latter aspect—that of the conquering hero—gained pre-eminence over the former and to a large extent superseded it when the worship of Indra became progressively dominant in the religion of the Āryans of India. Simultaneously the figure of Indra substituted itself to the figure of Trita in the versions of the exploit originally attributed to the latter. Often they appear closely associated in the common deed.

To a very different extent the worship of the conquering hero marked its influence in the Indian and in the Iranian religious developments. At a certain period during the progress of conquest of the Indo-Iranian tribes the idea of the attainment of light and life through a victorious storming of heaven appears to have prevailed over the ancient idea of their reception as a divine gift from the heavenly Asuras. The Avesta has equally its Verethraghna and its Thraetaona. But here these ancient figures, two aspects of one conception, are again half-effaced in the Asura-worship, which maintained its dominance. In India the substitution of the deva-worship is already very largely carried through in the ṚV. The termination of this process is found in the later period of the Brāhmaṇas, where the Asuras are degraded throughout to the rank of demons, of hostile anti-divine entities. The tansvaluation of the very motive of the original fall of Trita into that of a victory of Trita over the encompassing Asura—and the consequent fusion of the two salient episodes of the Trita-legend[35]—belong to an early phase of this process, to the phase which witnesses the successful ascent of Indra as Vṛtrahan, contemporaneous with that of Verethraghna in Iran. But the unconditional glorification of this feat, such as it characterizes the classical age of the ṚV, presupposes its adaptation to the moral standards of this age, necessitating several mythological adjustments. To begin with, the immense ascendancy of King Varuṇa is as yet undisputed (only comparatively later texts such as IV, 42 make the daring attempt to put the new deity Indra into a competition with Varuṇa; some attempts at co-ordinating the two deities are made by mere assertion and without undertaking any actual comparison of values, as in IV, 41, 3[36]). Thus to justify the glorification of Indra's main exploit the expedient was adopted of dissociating the vanquished Āsuric power from the supreme Āsuric deity. In the mythological construction the vanquished

[35] Apart from isolated documents like I, 105, providing a connected narration, the partly superseded motif of Trita's fall persists, detached from its context and obscured in its meaning, in a variety of legends in later texts.

[36] Cf. also e.g. I, 17. Other cases where this syncretism is tentatively justified as an equal appreciation of contrasting divine qualities: VII. 82, where however st. 3 quite unaccountably puts together the two modes of disclosing the waters and dispensing soma; VII, 83, 9; VI, 68, 3; etc.

"encompasser" Vṛtra has accordingly been separated from the heavenly Encompasser Varuṇa, although their common basic characteristic is not effaced, and even plainly persists in their Vedic names. Important supplementary evidence that Varuṇa was originally identical with the heavenly encompasser and keeper of the light-waters, from whom the essence of life and light was wrested by his son the conquering hero, is furnished by frequent quite unequivocal allusions to this fact which are yet extant in several Ṛvedic hymns.[37]

(To be Continued.)

[37] Some instances above. The parallelism with the ancient Greek myths of Ouranos, Kronos and Zeus (succession to the world-rule of a new generation of gods through the parricidal deed of their chief) suggests that this feature goes back to a common Āryan patrimony of notions and was probably due to the prevailing, at a certain period of the common past, of a naturistic hero-worship as against the worship of the heavenly all-father taken over from the pre-Āryan Indo-Aegean culture by the invading Āryans and then modified by them.

Correspondence appears even in details: thus Ouranos, knowing that his son will kill him, prevents his progeny from being born by keeping it back in the womb of Gê; Indra's mother keeps him for many years in her womb until he breaks his way through her flank and kills his father (IV, 18).

MISCELLANEA

THE THREE MOST PROMINENT PLACES OF SUN-WORSHIP IN ANCIENT INDIA.

According to *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* I, 72, 4-6 the three places of Sun-worship in Jambu-dvīpa are Muṇḍīra, Kālapriya and Mitravana, and it is only at Sāmbapura (in Mitravana) that the Sun resides permanently.[1] But in *Bhaviṣya-p.* I, 129, 16b-17a, the Sun, speaking of Mitravana, says :

'sānnidhyaṃ mama pūrvāhṇe sutīre drakṣyate janaḥ |
kālapriye ca madhyāhne' parāhṇe cātra nityaśaḥ ||

'People will ever see my proximity at Sutīra in the forenoon, at Kālapriya at midday, and here in the afternoon.' Thus in *Bhaviṣya p.* I, 129, 16b-17a the names of the three places of the Sun are given as Sutīra, Kālapriya and Mitravana. In *Varāha-p.* 177, in which the story of Sāmba's penance for the Sun's favour in order to get rid of leprosy caused by Kṛṣṇa's curse[2] has been narrated briefly with the

[1] sthānāni trīṇi devasya dvīpe'smin bhāskarasya tu |
pūrvam indravanaṃ (v. l. 'mitrabalaṃ' and 'mitravanaṃ' for 'indravanaṃ')
nāma tathā muṇḍīram ucyate ||
kālapriyaṃ (v. l. 'kolapriyaṃ') tṛtīyaṃ tu triṣu lokeṣu viśrutam |
tathānyad-api te vacmi yat purā brahmaṇoditam ||
candrabhāgā-taṭe nāmnā puraṃ yat sāmba-saṃjñitam |
dvīpe'smiṃ-chāśvataṃ sthānaṃ yatra sūryasya nityatā ||

Though the reading 'indravanaṃ' occurs in the body of the text of our printed edition as well as in the Ms of the *Bhaviṣya-p.* described by AUFRECHT in his *Bodleian Catalogue* (p. 31, foot-note 6), the reading 'mitravanam' is undoubtedly the correct one ; because the name 'Mitravanam' has been mentioned in a large number of verses in the *Bhaviṣya-p.*, whereas there is no second mention of 'Indravana' anywhere in the whole Purāṇa. Moreover, *Skanda-p.* VII (Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa), i (Prabhāsa-kṣetra-māhātmya), 110, 2b-3a, which reproduces the verse 'sthānāni trīṇi devasya etc.' of the *Bhasviṣya-p.* reads 'mitravanaṃ' and not 'indravanaṃ' ; and in the *Sāmba-p.* the name of the place is given as 'Mitravana' in all cases.

AUFRECHT's Ms of the *Bhaviṣya-p.* reads 'muṇḍāraṃ' for 'muṇḍiraṃ' (see *Bodleian Catalogue*, p. 31, foot-note 6). But the evidence of the *Skanda-p.* (VII, i. 100, 3a and 139, 11a) and the *Sāmba-p.* (43, 41 and 53) shows that the reading 'muṇḍīram' is the correct one.

For the name 'Kālapriya' see AUFRECHT's Ms of the *Bhaviṣya-p.*, *Varāha-p.* 177, 52, *Skanda-p.* VII, i, 139, 11b, and *Bhaviṣya-p.* I, 129, 17a.

[2] In *Varāha-p.*, chap. 177 the story of Sāmba has been given, with certain innovations, as follows :

Once Nārada saw Kṛṣṇa at Dvārakā and told him that all his 16000 wives were enamoured of Sāmba for his physical beauty, and that this fact used to be discussed by the gods in Brahma-loka. In order to be convinced of the truth of Nārada's allegation Kṛṣṇa called Sāmba before his wives and saw with his own eyes the mental agitation his wives had at the sight of Sāmba. Kṛṣṇa was ashamed of his wives' conduct, and decried female nature as being unscrupulously passionate. With the intention of making Sāmba an object of Kṛṣṇa's curse, Nārada said that this guilt was certainly not one-sided but was equally shared by Sāmba who used to encourage Kṛṣṇa's wives in their sexual passion, and that even the residents of Satya-loka were of opinion that Kṛṣṇa's wives were corrupted by Sāmba. Nārada even advised Kṛṣṇa to forsake Sāmba. Consequently, Kṛṣṇa cursed Sāmba to be deformed, and in a moment Sāmba became an ugly leper. As a remedy Nārada advised Sāmba to go to Udayācala and worship the rising Sun there in the forenoon. He also assured Sāmba that a '*Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa*' would come into being on the basis of Sāmba's words (vāda) and that this Purāṇa would always be read by Nārada himself before Brahmā in Brahma-loka and declared by Sumantu to Manu in the world of mortals. But as the disabled Sāmba intimated his inability to go to Udayācala (which evidently was situated at a much greater distance from Dvārakā

mention of the '*Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa*' as the source, Sāmba is said to have established three images of the Sun—one on the Udayācala, another, named Kālapriya, on the south of the Yamunā, and the third, named Mūlasthāna, on the Astamānācala.[3] So, from the *Varāha-p.* we get the names of the three places of Sun-worship as Udayācala, Kālapriya and Mūlasthāna.[4] According to *Skanda-p.* VII, i, 139, 11-12a the Sun resided in the morning at Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama as Muṇḍirasvāmin; at mid-day he resorted to the bank of the Yamunā as Kālapriya; and in the evening he remained on the bank of the Candrabhāgā as Mūlasthāna.[5] So, the *Skanda-p.* gives the names of the three places of the Sun as Muṇḍīra, Kālapriya and Mūlasthāna.

As regards the position of these places, the *Bhaviṣya* and the *Skanda-p.* say that the Sun was close to Sutīra (or Muṇḍīra according to the *Skanda-p.*) in the morning, to Kālapriya at mid-day, and to Mitravana (or Mūlasthāna according to the *Skanda-p.*) in the afternoon.[6] The *Varāha-p.* also contains clear references to the belief that the greatest benefit was derived by worshipping the rising Sun on the Udayācala, the mid-day Sun at Kālapriya, and the setting Sun at Mūlasthāna.[7] Hence it is evident that Muṇḍīra, Sutīra and Udayācala were situated in the eastern

than Mathurā) Nārada asked him to go to Mathurā and worship the Sun after taking his bath in the Yamunā, so that Sāmba might derive the benefits of worshipping the Sun in the morning on the Udayācala, at mid-day, and in the evening. Sāmba did so and was cured of his disease. He asked the Sun about the Purāṇa declared by the latter (cf. raviṃ papraccha dharmātmā purāṇaṃ sūryabhāṣitaṃ), made the '*Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa*' new (? bhaviṣyat-purāṇam iti khyātaṃ kṛtvā punar-navam), and established three images of the Sun,—one on the Udayācala, another, named Kālapriya, on the south of the Yamunā, and the third, named Mūlasthāna, on the Astamānācala. Sāmba also established another image of the Sun, named Sāmbapura, at Mathurā.

[3] sāmbaḥ sūrya-pratiṣṭhāṃ ca kārayāmāsa tattvavit ||
udayācale ca saṃśrito yamunāvāś-ca dakṣiṇe |
madhye kālapriyaṃ devaṃ madhyāhne sthāpya cottamaṃ ||
mūlasthānaṃ tataḥ paścād-astamānācale raviṃ |
sthāpya trimūrtiṃ sāmbas-tu ..... ||
verses 51 b-53.

[4] The use of the names 'Kālapriya' and 'Mūlasthāna' for the image of the Sun situated on the south of the Yamunā and that on the Astamānācala respectively, need not confuse us. These names for the images must have been derived from the names of the places at which these images were situated. Similar instances of the use of place-names for those of the images are found in *Varāha-p.* 177, 54-56 (in which Sāmbapura is mentioned as the name of an image of the Sun at Mathurā), and *Sāmba-p.* 43, 39-41 (in which 'Muṇḍira' is said to be a name of the Sun's image established by Manus in the Sun's penance-forest on the shore of the salt-ocean).

[5] muṇḍīra-svāminaṃ prātar-gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgame |
kālapriyaṃ tu madhyāhne yamunā-tīram āśritaṃ ||
mūlasthānaṃ cāstamane candrabhāgā-taṭe sthitaṃ |

[6] See *Bhaviṣya-p.* I, 129, 16b-17a cited above, and *Skanda-p.* VII, i, 139, 11-12a cited in foot-note 5.

[7] Cf. *Varāha-p.* 177, 36-38a—
yathodayācale devaṃ ārādhya labhate phalaṃ |
mathurāyāṃ tathā gatvā ṣaṭ-sūrye labhate phalaṃ ||
madhyāhne ca tathā devaṃ phala-priyaṃ akalmaṣaṃ |
mathurāyāṃ ca madhyāhne madhyaṃdina-ravau tathā ||
astaṃ gate tathā devaṃ sadyo rājya-phalaṃ bhavet |
mathurāyāṃ tathā puṇyaṃ udayāstaṃ raver-japaṃ ||
(Did the third line originally read as 'madhyāhne ca yathā devaṃ kāla-priyaṃ akalmaṣaṃ'?)
See also *Varāha-p.* 177, 31-32—
sāmba sāmba mahābāho śṛṇu jāmbavatī-suta |
udayācale ca pūrvāhne udyantaṃ tu vibhāvasuṃ ||
namaskuru yathānyāyaṃ vedopaniṣadādibhiḥ |
tvayoditaṃ raviḥ śrutvā tuṣṭiṃ yāsyati nānyathā ||
Cf. also *Varāha-p.* 177, 52-53 cited in foot-note 3.

part of India, Kālapriya in the middle, and Mitravana and Mūlasthāna in its western part. Now, Mūlasthāna (meaning literally 'original place'), which is said in the *Skanda-p.* (VII, 1, 139, 12a) to have been situated on the bank of the Candrabhāgā and in the *Padma-p.* to have been the abode of Sāmba, must be another name for Mitravana (in the Panjab) which is said to be the 'ādya-sthāna' (original place) of the Sun in a number of places both in the *Bhaviṣya* and the *Sāmba-p.*; and Kālapriya was evidently situated on the southern bank of the Yamunā, as the *Varāha* and the *Skanda-p.* show.[8] So, the questions, which remain to be solved, are whether Muṇḍīra, Sutīra and Udayācala are identical, and where these places are to be located.

We have already seen that in its two lists of the names of the three prominent places of Sun-worship in Jambu-dvīpa the *Bhaviṣya-p.* mentions 'Muṇḍīra' in the one (viz., I, 72, 4) but replaces it by 'Sutīra' in the other (viz., I, 129, 16b). So, according to the *Bhaviṣya-p.* Muṇḍīra and Sutīra are identical. This identification is supported by the *Sāmba-p.* (chaps. 42-43) which informs us that the 'beautiful' (ramya) penance-forest of the Sun (in Orissa) was situated on the 'shore' (tīra) of the salt-ocean (lavaṇodadhi), that the sight of the rising Sun there was deemed highly meritorious and that the Sun's image, which was established there by Manus, was given a name 'Muṇḍīra.'[9] So, Sutīra (literally meaning 'beautiful shore') must be another name for Muṇḍīra, which, again, must be very close to, or even identical with, Koṇārka situated on the seashore very close to the river Candrabhāgā (a branch of the river Prācī in Orissa). In the *Sāmba-p.* (chaps. 42-43) the Sun's penance-forest on the sea-shore (in Orissa) has been called Sūrya-kānana, Ravi-kṣetra, Sūrya-kṣetra and also Mitravana (though only once)[10]; and in the *Kapila-saṃhitā* Koṇārka has been called 'Maitreya Vana' and Ravi-kṣetra[11]; and in *Brahma-p.*, chaps. 28-32 Mitravana, situated on the bank of the Candrabhāgā, has been identified with Koṇārka in Orissa.

By its mention that in the morning the Sun remained at Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama as Muṇḍīra-svāmin, the *Skanda-p.* (VII, i, 139, 11) appears to disprove the above identification of Muṇḍīra with the Sun's penance-forest (called Mitravana) in Orissa, because the word 'gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama' is generally used to mean the place where the Bhāgīrathī falls into the sea. But the *Bhaviṣya-p.* (I. 55. 24-30) which mentions Gaṅgādvāra, Gaṅgā-sāgara, Kālapriya, Mitravana and Muṇḍīra-svāmin[12] in its not exhaustive list of different holy places and rivers to be named during the bathing of the Sun's image in its annual worship, shows clearly that Muṇḍīra-svāmin and Gaṅgā-sāgara (the mouth of the Bhāgīrathī) do not refer to the same place. So, the word 'gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama', as occurring in *Skanda-p.* VII, i, 139, 11, should be taken to mean the place where the river Candrabhāgā (a branch of the river Prācī in Orissa) falls into the sea, because in the Purāṇas all rivers which flow into the sea are called 'Gaṅgā.'[13] Or, it may mean the mouth of the Sūrya-gaṅgā, which is

[8] *Varāha-p.* 177, 52. *Skanda-p.* VII, i, 139, 11.

[9] See *Sāmba-p.* 43, 40-41—

tato nāma prakurvanti saṃprahṛṣṭa-tanūruhāḥ |
anena muṇḍitāḥ sarve tena muṇḍita ucyate ||
atha kṛtārtha-saṃjñāś-ca nigamajñair udāhṛtāḥ |
muṇḍi pramardane dhātuḥ saṃjñāyāṃ ca vidhīyate |
prakarṣād-ardayed-yena tena muṇḍīra ucyate ||

Also 43, 53-54a—

ekā mūrtir-dvidhā kṛtvā bhūtaleṣv-avatāritā |
pratyūṣe caiva muṇḍīraṃ ye paśyanti narāḥ sakṛt ||
na kadācid-bhayaṃ śoko rogās-teṣāṃ prapadyate |

[10] *Sāmba-p.* 42, 2.

[11] ASB Ms (No. 311), chaps. 6.

[12] *Bhaviṣya-p.* I, 55, 27a reads 'śuṇḍīra-svāminaṃ', but this reading is obviously a mistake for 'muṇḍīra-swāminam.' See also *Bhaviṣya-p.* I, 189, 23-26.

[13] sarvāḥ puṇyāḥ sarasvatyaḥ sarvā gaṅgāḥ samudragāḥ |
Mārkaṇḍeya-p. 57, 30b; *Vāyu-p.* 45, 108a (v. l. sarasvatyāḥ); etc.

mentioned in the *Kapila-saṃhitā* as one of the holy rivers in Arka-Kṣetra. In the *Padma p.* (Pātāla kh., chaps. 19 and 21-22) there is mention of a Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama near Puruṣottama-Kṣetra (modern Puri).

As regards Udayācala, we are not absolutely sure whether it is the same as the Udaya-giri in Orissa; because, in his *Kathāsaritsāgara* Somadeva mentions an Udayādri, the abode of Siddhas (siddha-kṣetra), as situated much farther east from Pauṇḍravardhana (most probably beyond Kāmarūpa),[14] and in its description of Kūrma-saṃsthāna, the *Mārkaṇḍeya-p.* mentions Pauṇḍra, Prāgjyotiṣa, Lauhitya, Udayācala etc. as situated in the mouth of the Kūrma. But the *Kālikā-p.* which names the holy places, mountains, rivers, lakes and pools in and about Kāmarūpa, including the Ravi-kṣetra (Sun's place)[15] lying between the river Sumadanā on the west and the Brahma-kṣetra on the east and containing a temple of the Sun, is silent about any Udayācala in or near Kāmarūpa, although it mentions a mountain called Sandhyācala of that locality. So, the Udayācala of the *Varāha-p.* is most probably the same as the Udayagiri in Orissa.

The great popularity of the story of Sāmba as the antiquated founder of the Sun-temple and the Sun's image at Mitravana (in the Panjab) tempted the people of different part of India to connect their own Sun-temples and Sun-images with Sāmba as the founder. Thus, in *Skanda-p.* VII, i, 100 it is said that Sāmba established an image of the Sun, named Sāmbāditya, in Prabhāsa-kṣetra, and that the place at which this image was established was called Sāmbapura; according to *Skanda-p.* VII, i, 139. 22 the Sun was called Sāmba at Vardhamāna (vardhamāne ca sāmbākhyaṃ); in the *Brahma-p.* the Sun's image, called Koṇāditya, at Koṇārka is said to have been established by Sāmba; and so on. It is for this reason that in *Skanda-p.* VII, i, 100 the third important place, except Mitravana and Muṇḍīra, of Sun-worship in Jambu-dvīpa is called Sāmbapura, the place of Sāmbāditya, in Prabhāsa-kṣetra, and not Kālapriya.

The names of Muṇḍīra, Kālapriya and Mitravana (in the Panjab) as prominent places of Sun-worship were known to the original author of the *Sāmba-p.* as well as to the interpolator of chaps. 42-43,[16] but the latter was so anxious for adding to the importance of Mitravana in Orissa that he eliminated the lines

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[14] *Kathāsaritsāgara* (NSP ed.), pp. 67-69. The Vidūṣaka, who went to the Udayādri successively through Tāmralipta, Kārkoṭaka and Pauṇḍravardhana in search of the Vidyādharī princess named Bhadrā, is said to have travelled over 60 yojanas of difficult (durgama) country, crossed the Śītodā, a river that cannot be crossed by mortals (śītodām alaṅghyāṃ mānuṣairnadīm) and reached the vicinity of the mountain of the rising sun (udayādri). We must not forget that the *Kathāsaritsāgara* is a book of fables.

[15] *Kālikā-p.* (Vaṅgavāsī ed.), 78, 42-58.

[16] Cf. *Sāmba-p.* 26, 14—

sānnidhyaṃ mama pūrvāhṇe udite drakṣyate janaḥ |
kālātyaye ca madhyāhne sāyāhne cātra nityaśaḥ ||

which is the distorted form of the original verse 'sānnidhyaṃ mama pūrvāhṇe sutīre drakṣyate janaḥ' etc. retained in *Bhaviṣya-p.* I, 129, 16b-17a.

Cf. also *Sāmba-p.* 43, 36b-37a—

sthāpayitvā raviṃ bhaktyā triḥ sthāneṣu surottamaḥ |
nivṛttiṃ yānti sukṛto deva-kāryārtha-tatparāḥ||

Sāmba-p. 43, 50b—yāṃ yāṃ kriyāṃ samārabhet sūrya-kṣetreṣu mānavaḥ |
etc. (note the plural number in 'sūrya-kṣetreṣu').

And *Sāmba-p.* 43, 53b-56a—

pratyūṣe caiva muṇḍiraṃ ye paśyanti narāḥ sakṛt |
na kadācid-bhayaṃ śoko rogas-teṣāṃ prapadyate ||
kālahṛt-kāla-kṛtyā ca madhyāhne ye tv-avekṣakāḥ ||
teṣām eva sukodarko hy-acireṇaiva jāyate ||
sāmbakṛte pure bhānuḥ sāyāhne yair-udīkṣitaḥ |
sadyaḥ prapadyate teṣāṃ dharmārtha-kāma-sādhanam ||

I shall show in a separate paper that the present *Sāmba-p.* is not a unified work but consists of units written in different times and climes.

sthānāni trīṇi devasya dvīpe'smin bhāskarasya tu |
pūrvaṃ mitravanaṃ nāma tathā muṇḍīram ucyate |
kālapriyaṃ tṛtīyaṃ tu triṣu lokeṣu viśrutam | |

from chap. 3 and distorted those original verses of the *Sāmba-p.* which contained, or referred to, the names of these prominent places of Sun-worship, in order that Mitravana in Orissa might be regarded as the only sacred place of the Sun.

R. C. HAZRA

"A NOTE ON THE ĀJĪVIKA SECT"

In my previous articles on the "Ājivika Sect—a New Interpretation"[1] I had observed to the effect that the Ājivika school was an independent school of thought like any other contemporary indigenous school. It did not burst into existence all of a sudden, though it received recognition only through Gośālaka. In the articles above-referred to I had tried to prove that the pre-Pāninian Ekadaṇḍins were the prototypes of these Ājivikas.[2]

The principles of this school were borrowed by them from other systems as they suited their purpose and satisfied their needs. Any old tenet was given up and any new was introduced according as it served their central object of eating, drinking and making merry. Thus there was nothing like a permanent element which could be identified with this school. As the school found an able exponent in the person of Gośālaka, it achieved a little importance of a somewhat rival school in the days of Buddha and Mahāvīra.

The origin of the mistakes connecting this school with the old Jaina school of Pārśvanātha's times or with the Digambara Jaina school is to be found in the well-known statement of HOERNLE[3] who failed, I humbly think, to understand the real meaning of the commentaries of Abhayadeva on the *Bhagavatī*[4] and Śīlāṅka on the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*.[5] The Jaina Church of Pārśvanātha's times suffered, no doubt, from lack of discipline as compared with that of Mahāvīra's times.[6] The Cūṛṇikāra's word '*pāsāvacciṇja*'[7] which is used to denote the six '*disācaras*' who joined Gośālaka does not even in its broadest sense indicate that Gośālaka had drawn all his followers from the degenerate Jaina school of Pārśvanātha's age or that the 'Ājīvika' was only a new name given by Gośālaka to the comparatively corrupt Jaina school of Pārśvanātha. What is simply and correctly meant by Cūṛṇikāra's word is that six followers of Pārśvanātha had proved infidels and joined Gośālaka. It means nothing more than that. The Ājīvika school provided shelter to such religious fugitives and they formed a major portion of it. The genesis of the second mistake is to be detected in the wrong interpretation of Śīlāṅka's commentary.[8] The commentators are usually the reliable custodians of traditions. It is unsafe, almost always, to try to invalidate their statements especially when tradition is concerned. So here we have to read between the lines. Even to a man of only ordinary intellect, the identification of the Ājīvika school with the Digambara school will not appeal, looking from a simple fact, that the Ājīvikas existed in the days of Mahāvīra while Digambaras did not, as the schism, we know, took place later. So the only course left open to us is to take

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1 *Bhāratīya Vidyā* (English), Vol. II, 2; Vol. III, 1.
2 *Bhāratīya Vidyā* (English), Vol. III, 1; p. 59.
3 *ERE*, Vol. I, p. 259 ff.
4 *Bhagavatī Sūtra* (Āgamodaya Samiti Edition), Third part, p. 659.
5 *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, Vol. III, 1; p. 57.
6 Muni KALYANAVIJAYA, 'Apanān Prābhṛto,' *Jaina Yuga* (v.s. 1982, *Kārtika*).
7 *Bhagavatī Sūtra*, *loc. cit.* 8 See fn. 5, above.

the statement of Śīlāṅka, identifying the Ājīvikas with the Digambaras and vice versa, only in a figurative sense which is clearly this that they both were lower forms of asceticism according to orthodox Śīlāṅka, because to an ordinary student of religious systems it is abundantly manifest that there is not the least common ground excepting one stated above between the Ājivika school and the Digambara school.

A. S. GOPANI

AIKSVĀKU DYNASTY

My brother, P. V. RAMANUJASWAMI, M.A., Director, Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Institute, Tirupati, has recently drawn my attention to a paper on the *Pre-Mahābhārata Solar Dynasty* written by Prof. D. R. MANKAD, M.A., and published in the '*Bhāratīya Vidyā*', Bombay, for May 1942. As I was interested in the subject, being engaged in the study of the *Purāṇas* for over 30 years, he was kind enough to write to the publisher and procure for me a reprint of the paper. The paper is an interesting one and the author seems to have been engaged in the study of the *Purāṇas* and allied literature like me. In his article he refers to a work, *Chronology of Ancient India*, by Dr. Sita Nath PRADHAN who seems to be a co-worker in the same field.

I have been studying and making researches in the *Purāṇas* since 1910. For arriving at satisfactory results, I had often to take up the study of the *Vedas* and the *Avesta* and later the *Pāli* and the *Māgadhi* literature. I found from my experience that the study of the original texts alone will help one in one's researches and not the commentaries or the translations. I strongly believe that the latter are more misleading than helpful. Although I take interest in them, both Epigraphy and Archæology have been of no help to me since my labours were mainly confined to the period ending with 300 A.D. My aim has been to present a true History of Ancient India derived from Indian sources. I firmly believe that to write another History of India along the well-trodden lines, like the one projected by the Bhāratiya Itihāsa Maṇḍali, Benares, is sheer waste of time, energy and money.

In the first place, it may be asserted that the *Purāṇas* and the *Upa-Purāṇas* (eighteen each) are not mainly concerned with History and Geography. I have dealt at length about their evolution in my small book on *Bhūtas*. It shows that they were from the beginning intended as religious works. Their avowed object is to explain the merits of religious observances and ceremonies, such as *dānam*, *vratam*, *yātrās* to *kṣetras* and *tirthas*, etc. They are practically the manuals of the priestly class. This class was clever enough greatly to enhance the authority of these works by introducing into them an ancient work of historical nature by Kṛṣṇa Pārāśara, the holy Vyāsa. The early *Purāṇas* are greatly enlarged editions of that ancient work, the nucleus of highly historical value by the holy Vyāsa, which went by the name of the *Purāṇa-saṃhitā*. This accounts for the fact that all the *Purāṇas* are attributed to the holy Vyāsa. An authentic account of the *Purāṇa-saṃhitā* is found in two *Purāṇas*. As it consists of only a few stanzas, I re-produce it here for the benefit of the readers.

सूत उवाच—अस्मिन् युगे तदा व्यासः पाराशर्यः परन्तप ।
द्वैपायन इति ख्यातो विष्णोरंशः सनातनः ॥ ११ ॥
ब्रह्मणा चोदितः सोऽस्मिन् वेदं व्यस्तुं प्रचक्रमे ।
अथ शिष्यान् स जग्राह चतुरो वेदकारणात् ॥ १२ ॥

इतिहासपुराणस्य कल्पवाक्यस्य चैवहि ।
मां चैव प्रतिजग्राह भगवानीश्वरः प्रभुः ॥ १६ ॥

* * * * *

आख्यानैश्चाप्युपाख्यानैर्गाथाभिः कल्पजोक्तिभिः ।
पुराणसंहितां चक्रे पुराणार्थविशारदः ॥ २१ ॥
(*Vāyu P.* I. lx. 11—21.
Brahmāṇḍa P. I. xxxiv. 11—21.)

षट्शः कृत्वा मयाप्युक्तं पुराणमृषिसत्तमाः ।
आत्रेयः सुमतिर्धीमान् काश्यपो ह्यकृतव्रणः ॥ ५५ ॥
भारद्वाजोऽग्निवर्चाश्च वासिष्ठो मित्रयुश्च यः ।
सावर्णिः सोमदत्तश्च सुशर्मा शांशपायनः ॥ ५६ ॥
एते शिष्या मम प्रोक्ताः पुराणेषु दृढव्रताः ।
त्रिभिस्तत्र कृतास्तिस्रः संहिताः पुनरेव हि ॥ ५७ ।
काश्यपः संहिताकर्ता सावर्णिः शांशपायनः ।
मामिका च चतुर्थी स्याच्चतस्रो मूलं (पूर्व)संहिताः ॥ ५८ ॥
सर्वास्ता हि चतुष्पादाः सर्वाश्चैकार्थवाचिकाः ।
पाठान्तरे पृथग्भूता वेदशाखा यथा तथा ॥ ५९ ॥
चतुःसाहस्रिकाः सर्वाः शांशपायनिकामृते ।
लौमहर्षणिका मूला ततः काश्यपिका परा ॥ ६० ॥
सावर्णिका तृतीया सा ऋजुवाक्यार्थमण्डिता ।
शांशपायनिका चान्या नोदनार्थविभूषिता ॥ ६१ ॥
(*Vāyu P.* I. lxi. 55—61.
Brahmāṇḍa P. I. xxxv. 63—69.)

These stanzas supply us with a vivid description of the *Purāṇa-saṃhitā* it is divided into four pādas and extends to 4,000 ślokas. Elsewhere we find the names of the pādas recorded. They are : 1. *Prakriyāpāda* 2. *Anuṣaṅgapāda* 3. *Upodghātapāda* and 4. *Upasaṁhārapāda.* The first pāda, which consists of about 300 ślokas, supplies us with a description of the creation of the Universe. The second pāda, which is bigger and contains about 1,600 ślokas, narrates the history of the dynasties of the kings and *ṛṣis* of the early Manvantaras. The major portion of this pāda (about 1,000 ślokas) is concerned with a description of the world as known to the ancient people of our country. The third pāda, which extends to about 2,600 ślokas and which is the largest, records the history of the Vaivasvata-Manvantara with elaborate description of the ancient Indian tribes and of the complicated genealogies of the dynasties of kings and ṛṣis. An appendix to this pāda continues the dynasties down to 300 A.D., and it is very important to history. The last and fourth pāda, which is also the shortest consisting of only 125 ślokas, gives an account of the destruction of the Universe or *pralaya.* There were four recensions of the *Saṁhitā*, those of Sūta and his three disciples. Three of them were in the narrative form and the remaining one was in the form of a dialogue. The latter is the Śāṁśapāyanika-saṁhitā.

The holy Vyāsa composed his *Purāṇa-saṁhitā* at the time of the Great Bhārata Battle (c. 1945 B.C.). Sūta Lomaharṣaṇa narrated his recension of it to the *sadasyas* assembled at the *sattra* (a kind of sacrifice) performed at the time when Adhisīmakṛṣṇa, the great-grandson of Janamejaya, was reigning at Hastināpura.

Three of Sūta's disciples had their own recensions. An appendix was added later on bringing the chronology down to 300 A.D., which goes by the name of the *Bhaviṣyadrājānukathana*. This is Mr. PARGITER'S *Dynasties of the Kali Age*.

The *Purāṇa-saṁhitā* in any of its recensions is not in existence at present. My main object all these years has been to restore it from the *Purāṇas*. I am glad to announce that after a labour of 30 years my attempt has been crowned with success, and that I have been able to recover the lost *Purāṇa-saṁhitā*. It is no exaggeration if I say that in the *Saṁhitā*, our country possesses a chronological account of all the dynasties from the dawn of history down to 300 A.D. It is free from superhuman accounts and superstitious beliefs. The *Purāṇa-saṁhitā* is the end and aim of the textual criticism of the *Purāṇas* and its recovery puts a stop to further comparison of the different texts. The different recensions of the *Saṁhitā* itself have no material effect on the contents thereof. Comparison with the historical allusions in the Vedic, Kalpa and Avesta literature shows that the account of the *Purāna-saṁhitā* is genuine and based on actual facts.

In the light of the *Purāṇa-saṁhitā*, the value of the different *Purāṇas* has to be assessed differently. Some *Purāṇas*, like the *Agni*, the *Garuḍa*, the *Bhaviṣya* and the *Brahmavaivarta*, have no historical matter in them and are only *Purāṇas* in name. They are a slur on the *Purāṇas*. Others like the *Viṣṇu*, the *Bhāgavata*, the *Mārkaṇḍeya*, and the *Vāmana* are cognizant of the *Saṁhitā* and incorporate it partly in them. The rest which are very old, like the *Vāyu*, the *Brahmāṇḍa*, and the *Matsya* contain the *Saṁhitā* in them, either wholly or partially. It is these *Purāṇas* that helped me in the task of recovering the *Saṁhitā*. Of these the *Vāyu-purāṇa* is the oldest and most valuable. The study of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Harivaṁśa* is essential for a student of the *Purāṇas*.

The *Purāṇa-saṁhitā* records various *Ṛṣi* and royal dynasties and they are more than fifty in number. A careful scrutiny of these dynasties revealed to me that the period from the beginning of history recorded in the *Saṁhitā* to the time of the Great Bhārata Battle extended to 50 generations and nothing more.

The text of the *Purāṇas*, as it stands now, is hopelessly corrupt in some places. So in the case of some families we find that the different branches are linked to one another and a long dynastic list is made out in the place of several short ones, parallel to each other. I may cite the Pāñcāla dynasty as an instance. Here the five separate contemporary dynasties are linked together, one to another and that too, in the reverse order and the long genealogy thus arrived at is again linked to the Paurava dynasty with the result that the latter dynasty appears to extend to nearly 120 generations. In my book, *The History of the Pāñcāla* (Vedic Period), I united the knots and exhibited the five contemporary dynasties separately. Similar confusion exists in the *Purāṇas* with regard to the other dynasties. The Aikṣvāku (Solar) dynasty is not free from it. But it is very difficult to discover the joints in this dynasty as the materials at our disposal in regard to it are very scanty. I have, however, worked at it patiently and fixed the dynasty in my own way.

I may draw the attention of the reader to a curious identity in this work of dynastic reconstruction. I reconstructed the later portion of the Aikṣvāku dynasty from Śri Rāma onwards with the help of two stories. They are the story of Maṇḍūka-kanyā in the *Mahābhārata* (Vanaparvan) and that of Hiraṇyanābha in the *Praśnopaniṣat*. I closed Kuśa's dynasty with Hiraṇyanābha and considered the remaining portion of the dynasty as Lava's. From the paper of Prof. MANKAD I learn that Dr. S. N. PRADHAN also reconstructed the dynasties in an identical way. Dr. PRADHAN records the names of two generations after Hiraṇyanābha and introduces three generations between Viśrutavānt and Bṛhadbala. This I hesitated to do. According to me Bṛhadbala is the 47th in descent and the Great Bhārata Battle took place during the time of the 50th gene-

ration. Three generations are really wanting before Bṛhadbala and the *Bhāgavata* supplies them. But in the absence of further corroboration, I hesitated to accept the authenticity of a single *Purāṇa* and that too the *Bhāgavata*.

I shall briefly explain the way in which I reconstructed the Aikṣvāku dynasty or the so called 'Solar' dynasty (see Table). My study of the *Purāṇas* convinces me that the dynasty consists of four branches which were inadvertently linked at three places into an unjustifiably long dynasty. I locate the joints in the following places. The dynasty commences with Vivasvān. His son is Kṣuvata, who is commonly known as Manu Vaivasvata.[1] This Kṣuvata is 11th in descent or belongs to the 11th generation. The dynasty continues to 35 generations without interruption, i. e., upto Cañcu's eldest son, Vijaya who belongs to the 45th generation (according to *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa*). Here appears the first joint. Ruruka, who is alleged to be the son of Vijaya, is in reality the progenitor of a new branch which starts from the 24th generation. Thus Ruruka really belongs to the 24th generation. From him the branch continues without break for 22 generations. The last Iḍaviḍa, therefore, belongs to the 45th generation. The second joint occurs here. Kṛtaśarman, who is represented as the son of Iḍaviḍa, really begins a new branch from the 29th generation to which he belongs. This branch continues on to the time of the Great Bhārata Battle or even after it. Śrī Rāma comes in this branch and he belongs to the 35th generation. In Kuśa's dynasty, again, there is a joint (according to *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa*). It should stop with Hiraṇyanābha of the 52nd generation. Puṣya, who is alleged to be his son, begins a new branch and belongs to the 37th generation. This branch may be that of Lava but I could gather no evidence to affirm it. The above results are arrived at from a consideration of the following points :—

1. Anaraṇya, the great-grandson of Purukutsa and grandson of Trasadasyu, was slain by Rāvaṇa, who, in his turn, was killed by Śri Rāma.

2. Sitā of the Maithila dynasty was a contemporary of Śri Rāma who married her.

3. Satyavrata or Triśaṅku and his son, Hariścandra, were the contemporaries of Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha and the latter's son, Śakti, who were, in their turn, the contemporaries of Sudāsa, his son, Aśmaka, and his grandson, Kalmāṣapāda or Mitrasaha.

4. Mūlaka or Nārīkavaca was a contemporary of Rāma Jāmadagnya (Paraśurāma).

5. Śala, Dala and Bala, the sons of Pāriyātra or Parīkṣit, were the contemporaries of Vāmadeva who was a contemporary of King Sahadeva and his son, Somaka, of the IV Pāñcāla dynasty.

6. Śrutāya and Bṛhadbala were heroes of the Great Bhārata Battle in which they were killed.

7. Hiraṇyanābha was a Sāmagācārya of the Eastern school of *Sāmaveda* and was a disciple of Pauṣyañji.

8. Śunaḥśepa Ājigarta of the Bhārgava dynasty was a contemporary of Hariścandra.

It is remarkable that Viśvāmitra and Rāma Jāmadagnya were not the contemporaries of Śrī Rāma (Dāśarathi) as set forth in the Bālakāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. I have given above a brief account of my conception of the *Purāṇas* and the Aikṣvāku dynasty. A fuller discussion demands more space and time.

S. P. L. NARASIMHASWAMI

[1] The word Manu was not a proper name but only a title of a particular office in ancient days. Both the titles, Prajāpati and Manu, were later replaced by the title Rāja. I may note in this connection that the words Indra and Varuṇa were also similar titles older than Prajāpati and Manu.

THE DANDANĀYAKAS SAJJANA AND BOSARĪ

Sajjana and Bosari are two well-known names in the history of Kumārapāla Caulukya of Gujarat. When Siddharāja Jayasiṁha's displeasure turned almost all others against Kumārapāla, the pot-maker Sajjana had, caring little for royal anger, conveyed Kumārapāla's wife Bhopaladevī to her relations in Malwā, and the Brāhmaṇa Bosari had not merely accompanied the Prince in his wanderings but also always helped him with a share of his alms.[1] It is said that even their parents had scoffed, at the time, at their attachment to the friendless Prince saying, "Why should you keep us uselessly awake with your committees and counsels? Will Kumārapāla on acquiring the kingdom, give you O Bosari, the rule of Lāṭa and assign to you, O Sajjana, the territory comprised in the principality of Citor?"[2].

According to the Gujarat chronicles these wishes of the parents of Sajjana and Bosari did not remain unfulfilled.[3] In this paper, we shall trace, as far as possible, the further career of Sajjana and Bosari, and show, on unimpeachable grounds, that these two did respectively become the governors of Citor and Lāṭa.

The first mention of Sajjana is found in Kumārapāla's Citor inscription of V. S. 1207, wherein he is called a *daṇḍanātha* and said to have donated a *ghāṇaka* of oil.[4] To those who have read the story of Kumārapāla's adventures with any care, it would be obvious enough that this *daṇḍanātha* Sajjana is none other than our pot-maker Sajjana to whom, according to the Gujarāt chronicles, the government of Citor had been given as a fitting and highly deserved reward by the grateful Kumārapāla when he ascended the throne of Aṇahillapaṭṭana in V. S. 1200 or so.

Sajjana is next referred to in the Bijoliā inscription of V. S. 1226, wherein he is said to have met his death at the hands of Vigraharāja IV of Śākambharī.[5] The words "*asajjano bhuvaḥ*" used with reference to Sajjana allude, perhaps, to his low birth.

A third reference to Sajjana is found in the pages of the *Kumārapālacarita* of Somatilaka Sūri. Here too he is found coming into conflict with Vigraharāja of Sapādalakṣa who destroys the fort of Citor and captures Kumārapāla's elephant force. So great is the effect of this bad news said to have been on the mind of Kumārapāla that he at once raised the siege of Nāgor, a fort in Vigraharāja's dominions, and concluded a treaty with its Governor.[6]

So Sajjana appears to have, to the end, served his master and given his life in his service. As a general he was obviously no match for the redoubtable Vigraharāja IV of Śākambharī.

Our information regarding Bosari is comparatively scanty. But that he too did not remain unprovided for might be seen from the following colophon of a Jaisalmer Ms which, in all probability, refers to him :—

|| Oṃ || Saṁvat *1207 varṣe Jyeṣṭa śudi 14 Gurau adyeha Śrī Vaṭapadrake Daṇḍa. Śrī-Bosari-pratipattau Saṁvegaraṁgaśālā-pustakaṁ likhitamiti* ||[7]

[1] The anonymous *Kumārapālacarita* of V.S. 1385 edited by Muni Jinavijayaji, pp. 2-3.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] See for instance the *Kumārapālaprabodhaprabandha* of Purātanācārya edited by Muni Jinavijayaji, p. 53. Sajjana seems to have been known also as Āliga.

[4] *Gujarāt nā Aitihāsika Śilālekha*, p. 37.

[5] *Kṛtāṁtapathasajjobhūt Sajjanosajjano bhuvaḥ*, E. I. XXVI, p. 105.

[6] Page 29, lines 28-32 and page 30, lines 1-7. (Jinavijayaji's edition).

[7] I am indebted for the copy of the colophon to my friend Mr. Agarchand Nahta.

We have no information as to the way he ended his life. Lāṭa was a more peaceful charge than Citor and, likely enough, he died a natural death, full of years as well as honour.

DASHARATHA SHARMA

APABHRAṂSA GLEANINGS*

On p. 86 of the *Kumārapālapratibodha* of Somaprabha[1] occurs this verse :

vēsa visiṭṭhaha vāriyai | jai vi maṇohāra-gatta
Gangā-jala pakkhāliya vi | suṇihi kī hōi pavitta ?

ALSDORF on p. 135 of his edition of the Apabhraṁśa material in the *Kumārapālapratibodha*[2] translates this stanza (there numbered 10(a)) thus : "Die Dirne wird dem adlen Manne verboten, wenn sie auch lieblich von Gestalt ist ; *vernimm* ; wäre sie etwa rein, selbst wenn sie mit Ganges-Wasser gewaschen würde ?"[3] So ALSDORF does not find anything dissatisfactory in the text and he accepts it as it stands. To me, however, the stanza as it is does not appear to yield quite a good sense. As a rule, the structure of many such gnomic verses presents a tolerably well-defined pattern. The first half contains some ordinary statement or a general maxim, which is corroborated in the other half by a striking illustration from the practical world. Our stanza, accordingly, can be expected quite rightfully to present in its second half some pointed illustration from the practical life. But the printed text fails us in this point. This leads me to suggest that quite probably *suṇihi* in the fourth pāda is a corruption of *suṇahi* 'bitch'. This slight emendation invests the whole stanza with a new meaning. It would then signify : "The courtesan is forbidden for the high-born person, although she is lovely of form. Would a bitch become pure even if she is washed with the Ganges waters ?" To a religious-minded Hindu dogs are quite apavitra. As even a bath in the sacred waters of the Ganges cannot remove the natural impurity of a bitch, so too loveliness of limbs in no way nullifies the faithless and greedy nature of courtezans. Orthographically, with *suṇihi* for *suṇahi* cf. *viṇi* for *vaṇi* (*Kumārapālapratibodha*, p. 9, l. 22) also in an Apabhraṁśa stanza.

2.

ALSDORF on p. 137 of his *Kumārapālapratibodha* (KP.), while interpreting the stanza (there numbered 22)

lēkkhai cōkkhai jō marai | niya-duccaciya-vasēṇa
suṇṭhī suṃcalu kiṃ karei | tasu dinnaṃ avarēṇa

occurring on p. 415 of the original text, emends the third pāda to *suṇṭhī suṃvalu kiṃ karai* on metrical and other grounds. So far as the emendation concerns the metrical grounds there is nothing to be said in its disfavour. Only the alteration of *suṃcalu* to *suṃvalu* affected probably because *suṃcalu* was felt obscure (see KP., Glossar, s. v. *suṃvalu*) is quite useless, for *suṃcalu* is a quite correct word, it being the same as Sk. *sauvarcala*, Modern Guj. *sancaḷ* 'sochal salt,' Combination of dried

* I am grateful to the Bombay University authorities for granting me the permission to publish this writing prepared during the tenure of my University Research Studentship.

[1] JINAVIJAY : *Kumārapālapratibodha* of Somaprabhācārya, GOS. No. XIV, Baroda, 1920.

[2] *Der Kumārapālapratibodha* Alt-und Neu-Indische Studien, 2. Hamburg, 1928.

[3] "The courtesan is forbidden for the high-born person, although she is lovely of form ; hear, would she become perchance pure even if she is bathed in the water of the Ganges ?' Italics mine. On p. 62 of the same work ALSDORF suggests *suṇahi* for the printed *suṇihi* but evidently as a verbal form.

ginger and sochal salt (i.e. *sumṭhī* (Guj. *sūṭh*) and *suncalu*) is commonly used in medicine. So the dubious and hypothetical *sumvalu* suggested as a substitute for *suncalu* is to be rejected.

ALSDORF could not make out any relevant sense from the first two words of the stanza. I think[4] *lekkha-* is Sk. *lekhya-* Guj. *lēkhū* 'sum, an account,' *cōkkha-* is Sk. *cokṣa*, Guj. *cokkhū* 'clean, clear'; *lēkkhai* and *cōkkhai* are locatives. The translation would be : "Dried ginger and sochal salt administered by others are of what avail to him who, as a result of his accounts (viz., of good and bad deeds) being cleared dies owing to his own wicked conduct?" In modern Gujarāti, corresponding to the first two words of the stanza under consideration, there is the phrase *hisāb cōkkho thavo* signifying 'to get the accounts cleared (fig. of karman)'.

3.

Though mainly making up a critique of PISCHEL's views and interpretations of the Apabhraṁśa grammatical rules and illustrative verses that have been compiled by Hemacandra in his Prakrit grammar, ALSDORF's *Apabhraṁśa Studien*[5] (AS.) serves also to elucidate certain obscure points of Apabhraṁśa grammar and exegesis. In the course of his various discussions Hemacandra too comes up for criticism at several places, because, "of the inaccuracies and inconsistencies there is no lack in his much too numerous writings."[6] In most of the cases there is enough justification for the criticism. Only once it happens that ALSDORF himself is unwittingly caught, probably through oversight, in the trap of a glaring inaccuracy and is led consequently into making a totally unwarranted criticism. This occurs when he takes up for consideration the interpretation of the stanza IV 340, 2 of Hemacandra's Prakrit grammar (vide AS. pp. 75-76).

By the sūtra IV 340 which forms the basis of the illustrative stanzas IV. 340, 1 and IV 340, 2, Hemacandra provides for the genetive plural termination *hũ* specially taken by the I- and U-stems. This is illustrated by the stanza 340, 1 which contains the relevant form *taruhũ*. Next comes our stanza 340, 2. ALSDORF has prefaced his discussion of the stanza with this remark : "340, 2 is a good example of how, occasionally, Hemacandra adduces illustrations to his rules in an inaccurate—indeed a plainly erroneous—manner."[7] This so-called error of Hemacandra is specified at the close of the discussion. The only form here, ALSDORF observes, that can serve as an illustration to the foregoing rule (i.e. sūtra IV 340) is *duhũ* ; but according to all interpreters this is not a genitive but a locative form. "So," he adds, "when Hemacandra adduces this stanza to illustrate the *genetive*, he is plainly wrong and that through inexcusable remissness."[8]

Now the fact is, the stanza in question is never intended to supply an illustration for the genitive. It is *expressly* given to illustrate the locative. It is actually introduced by Hemacandra with the specific remark : *prāyo'dhikārāt kvacit supo'pi huṁ*.[9] "By the Rule of Facultative Application *huṁ* at times appears for the *locative* plural termination (*sup*) also."

[4] For this I am indebted to a suggestion from Muni Shri Jinavijayaji.

[5] Ludwig ALSDORF, *Apabhraṁśa-Studien*, Leipzig, 1937.

[6] ALSDORF, op. cit., p. 22.

[7] "Ein gutes Beispiel für die ungenaue, ja einfach fehlerhafte Art, wie Hem. gelegentlich seine Regeln illustriert ist 340. 2." ALSDORF, op. cit., p. 75.

[8] "Wenn also Hem. die Strophe als Illustration für den gen. anführt, so ist das enfach verkehrt und eine durch nichts zu entschuldigende Nachlässigkeit." ALSDORF ; op. cit., p. 76.

[9] Vide PISCHEL, *Hemacandra's Grammatik der Prākrit-Sprachen*, I, p. 155 and his rendering of the sūtra (ibid. II, p. 183) : "Aus dem Adhikāra "Prāyas" ("gewohnlich," "meist" ; H IV. 329) ist es zu erklären, dass sich zuweilen *huṁ* auch für die endung des loc. plur. gebraucht findet".

It is indeed strange and surprising how this whole line in the commentary which modifies the application of the original Sūtra has escaped ALSDORF's scrutinizing attention and consequently has returned to him, as if by a rebound, the same unenviable qualification of being "plainly wrong and that through inexcusable remissness". It appears, it is high time we recognize "nodding" as perfectly human.

4

Out of the fifty-eight anonymous citations in chapters IV—VIII on Apabhraṁśa metres in the *Svayambhūcchandas* (SC.) of Svayambhū[10] four have been already traced by others[11] in the *Paumacariu* (PC.) of Svayambhū (as yet only in the MS. form) which establishes a common authorship of these two works. Strangely enough, one verse expressly bearing the authentic stamp *caümmuhassa* is also shown to belong to the PC. of Svayambhū. Thus five quotations in all have been identified :

	SC.			PC.		
	ch.	v.		San.	Kaḍ.	l.
1.	V	9	=	XIV	vii	9–10
2.	VI	42	=	LXV	i	1–2
3.	VI	71	=	LXXVII	i	1–2
4.	VI	74	=	LXXVII	xiii	13–14
5.	VIII[12]	27	=	V	i	1–2

To these I now add two more :

6. SC. V 5 : gaavindhaī | jasu siddhai | para-samāṇu jasu appao
pahu ĕkkahŏ | tailŏkkahŏ | sŏ jja dēva paramappao.
PC. III iii 12-13 : iya cindhaī | jasu siddhaī | para-samāṇu jasu appau,
gaha-cakkahŏ | tailŏkkahŏ | sŏ ji dēu paramappau.

7. SC. VIII 17 . tihuaṇa-guru taṁ gaa guru | mĕllavi jhiṇa-kasāaū
gau santata-viraharn tau | purima tāṇu sampāiau[13]
PC. III i 12 : tihuaṇa-guru | taṁ gayauru | mĕllivi khīṇa-kasāiu
gaya-santau | viharantau | purimatālu sampāiyau[13] (?)

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[10] H. D. VELANKAR, *Svayambhūcchandas*, chapters IV to VIII (= Appendix to "Apabhraṁśa Metres II") . *JUB* V iii, Nov. 1936, pp. 69-193.

[11] See M. C. MODI, *Caturmukh Svayambhū ane Tribhuvan Svayambhū, BV* (Hindi-Guj.) I ii March 1940, p. 172 and Nāthūrām PREMI : *Mahakāvi Svayambhū aur Tribhuvan Svayanbhū, BV* (Hindi-Guj.) II iii Oct. 1942, pp. 253-254.

[12] PREMI gives VII.27, apparently through oversight.

[13] The sixth pāda is metrically defective.

REVIEWS

Tattvārtha Sūtra: By Vācaka Umāsvāti. Introduction and Vivecana by Pandit Sukhlalji. Edited and translated in Hindi by Pandit Krishnachandraji and Pandit Dalsukhbhai. Published by Mohanlal Dipchand CHOKSHI. Tamba Kanta, Vhorano Juno Malo, 4th floor, Bombay 3. Samvat 1996. Price Rs. 3-8-0. Pp. 6+4+18+4+165+464. (The Ātmānanda Janma Śatābdī Granthamālā No. 1).

The *Tattvārtha* is a work which represents the Jain school in the Indian philosophical system. Vācaka Umāsvāti (also known as Vācaka Umāsvāmi) its learned author enjoys uniform respect in all the sections of Jain thought and culture because he has preserved impartiality to a degree. In the absence of any conclusive proof it is difficult to fix his date, though there are clear and sufficient evidences —internal and external—that enable us to state that he must not have flourished earlier than the first century and later than the fourth century of the Vikrama era. He is the first Jain writer, known uptill now, who wrote in Sanskrit. His graceful, pithy, and chaste style proves his extraordinary command on Sanskrit. His art of compressing so many subjects in only one book is, to say the truth, simply inimitable. The prefatory stanzas of the *Tattvārtha* also indicate his power of versification. The Śvetāmbaras hold him to be an author of five hundred and odd works some of which are *Jambūdvīpasamāsaprakaraṇa*, *Pūjāprakaraṇa*, *Śrāvakaprajñapti*, *Kṣetravicāra* and *Praśamarati*. Siddhasena refers in his commentary also to one *Śaucaprakaraṇa* as his work but it is not available to-day. The language of the *Praśamarati* and the reasoning employed in it justify it on somewhat more plausible grounds to be Umāsvāti's creation. The Śvetāmbara tradition recognizes him sometimes as the Pūrvavid also and the Digambara tradition as the Śrutakevalideśiya.

The book under review bears eloquent testimony to the author's deep knowledge of the eleven *Aṅgas*. That he was a specialist of epitomes will be seen from the remark उपोमास्वाति संग्रहीतार: (*Siddhahema*, 2, 2, 39) of Hemacandrācārya. He himself has written a Bhāṣya on his *Tattvārtha* as is proved irrefutably by Panditji in his Introduction by advancing solid arguments. This is the first example, in the whole Sanskrit literature, of the author's having written a Bhāṣya on his own Mūlasūtras. He belonged to the *Sthavira* or the *Sacaila* section of the Jain Society and not to the Digambara or the *Acaila* class, states the learned Panditji in his scholarly Introduction.

The popularity of the work and the unique esteem in which it was held by both Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras alike are best illustrated in the fact that the distinguished writers of both the sections have written extensive commentaries on it. Among the Śvetāmbara commentators, Siddhasena, Haribhadra, Devagupta, Yaśobhadra, the pupil of Yaśobhadra, Malayagiri, Cirantanamuni, Vācaka Yaśovijaya and Gaṇī Yaśovijaya are principal. Siddhasena, above referred to, is different from the famous writer of the *Sanmati Tarka*. He is identified by Panditji with Gandhahastī on convincing grounds, thus ably removing an error traditionally transmitted. Haribhadra, the second of the above-mentioned commentators, has also been proved by Panditji to be the same Haribhadra, known as the renowned Yākinīmahattarāsūnu. Among the Digambara commentators, Pūjyapāda, Akalaṅka. Vidyānanda, Śrutasāgara. Vibudhasena, Yogīndradeva, Yogadeva, Lakṣmīdeva and Abhayanandī are chief.

Pandit Sukhlalji, the Vivecanakāra, needs no introduction. He is so well known to the literary world that it is out of place to describe his varied gifts and unparalleled achievements as a sound scholar of Jain philosophy and literature and an accomplished editor. By birth a Bania, he is a Brahmin by his literary

activities. His editions of *Karmagranthas, Sanmati Tarka, Tattvopaplava, Pramāṇamīmānsā Jñānabindu* and the various research articles which he has contributed are the monumental specimens evincing his ever-expanding genius and extensive knowledge. They are all characterized by clarity of thought, niceties of reasoning and impartiality of judgment. What he has done for the revival of old Jain literature and for getting its value recognized, is simply wonderful. His powers of analysis and synthesis are, so to say, beyond attainment. The *Paricaya* is exhaustive and deals with every relevant aspect with maximal thoroughness. We are with Panditji when he brushes aside as trivial the legend connecting Kundakunda and Umāsvāti as preceptor and pupil. The comparison of the Mūlasūtras with *Uttarādhyayana* and the *Yogasūtra* is as thought-provoking as it is indicative of Panditji's all-embracing deep knowledge. Panditji has rendered substantial help to the chronological side of literary criticism by solving the two vexed problems : one, arising out of a tradition which identifies Gandhahastī with Samantabhadra, and the other regarding Haribhadra the commentator of the *Tattvārtha.* The reasoning which Panditji has employed to prove that Umāsvāti belonged to the *Sthavira Pakṣa* or the *Sacaila Pakṣa* reveals nothing else but his dispassionate approach and his rare power of harmonizing conflicting theories. The Appendix, which contains Panditji's letter, Jugalkishoreji's rejoinder to it and Panditji's consequent thoughts thereon, converges round the central point and is supplementary in more than one way. His hints on the studies of the *Tattvārtha* are quite matter-of-fact and are based on his own practical experience.

To praise the *Vivecana* is like gilding gold as its value is self-evident. Every sentence of it convinces even a casual reader of Panditji's profound studies, penetrating intellect and persuasive style. After reading it we feel we are told everything which we wanted to be told. Not a single thought escapes him, though he is overflowing with them. He takes hold of them all, assigns adequate place to each one of them and erects a beautiful and magnificent edifice by slow and steady brick-laying. Exuberance of thought and the lucidity of exposition are to be found on almost every page of his *vivecana.* It is true, he must have availed himself of all the existing commentaries on the *Tattvārtha* and mostly the *Sarvārthasiddhi*, still it is no small job to bring the whole amount of knowledge to bear, in a systematic way, on the *vivecana.*

This Hindi edition of the *Tattvārtha* is distinguished from the Gujarati by many novel features of which the addition of the पारिभाषिक शब्दकोश and मूलसूत्रपाठ as well as a discussion, in the Introduction, proving definitely that Umāsvāti belonged to a Śvetāmbara tradition, further incontrovertible arguments in support of Siddhasena Gaṇi's being none else but Gandhahastī and the identification of Haribhadra the commentator of the *Tattvārtha* with Haribhadra who is also called Yākinīmahattarāsūnu are some.

In the *Vaktavya,* Panditji has surveyed the literature that has been produced by other writers in connection with the *Tattvārtha.* While so doing he has not stinted just compliments to the deserving persons like Muniśrī Sāgarānandji and Ātmārāmji and also has not shrunk back from taking the literary plagiarist like Mr. MUNOT to task. In the *Merī Vicāraṇā* which forms the Appendix to his erudite Introduction, Panditji has effectively tried to make clear to Mukhtarji the implication of तत्त्वार्थसूत्रकर्त्तारं गृध्रपिच्छापलक्षितम् ।

In conclusion, we take this opportunity of congratulating Panditji the veteran scholar and the esteemed vivecanakāra of the Tattvārtha as well as Pandits Krishnachandra and Dalsukhbhai, the translators in Hindi and also editors of the book, on producing this work in its most useful form.

A. S. GOPANI

Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Adyar Library, Vol. I. *Vedic*. By : K. Madhava Krishna SARMA, M.O.L., under the supervision of Prof. C. Kunhan RAJA, M.A., D.PHIL, the Adyar Library, 1942. Royal Pages xxxvi + 415. Price Rs. 15/-

The collection of Sanskrit MSS. in the Adyar Library is unique and important, and it falls under three main classes, i. Palm-leaf, ii. old paper, and iii, recent transcriptions. In order to acquaint the world at large of the valuable collection a scheme has been prepared for issuing complete descriptive catalogues in twelve volumes of which that on Upaniṣads was published by Dr. SCHRADER in 1908. The book under review forms the first volume under the revised scheme and it has been compiled by Sri K. N. K SARMA (now Curator of Anup Library, Bikaner) under the able guidance and direction of Dr. C. Kunhan RAJA, who has added a valuable introduction to the volume.

Though no well-defined rules exist as to the preparation of descriptive catalogues, it will be readily seen that they must supply the following particulars : (*i*) all that is said about the work under notice and its author ; (*ii*) additional points confirming or disproving what is already said about them ; (*iii*) brief summary of contents of unknown or unpublished works, and opinions about age and authorship ; (*iv*) lists of authorities quoted by authors of known and unknown dates in order to settle their relative chronology ; (*v*) important editions if any ; and (*vi*) all important particulars regarding the MS. itself (VELANKAR, *Des. Cat. of Skt and Pkt MSS in the B. B. R. A. S. Library*, Vol. II. Bombay 1928, Preface). Recently there has been a number of descriptive catalogues issued by different Libraries ; so in order to avoid unnecessary time and labour, as also duplication, each subsequent compiler should, in the case of MSS. already described, refer only to the particular catalogue in the case of those MSS. instead of repeating the same particulars unnecessarily. The book under review has been carefully planned and brought out. The importance of descriptive catalogues in matters relating to chronology, palæography etc. need not be stressed here, and the present volume will supply with many important and interesting details.

The volume contains 1,103 entries relating to the whole of Vedic literature. The book is divided into 6 sections, (*i*) *Ṛgveda* (Nos. 1-68), (*ii*) *Yajurveda* (Nos. 69-389), (*iii*) *Sāmaveda* (Nos. 390-526), (*iv*) *Atharvaveda* (Nos. 527-529), (*v*) Miscellaneous (Nos. 530-709) and (*vi*) *Vedāṅgas* (Nos. 710-1103), by far the largest number of MSS. pertaining to the Vedāṅgas and Yajurveda. Some of the MSS. included under (*v*) Misc. could better have been included earlier under *Ṛgveda* (Nos. 546, 562, 563) *Yajurveda* (Nos. 536ff, 541), *Sāmaveda* (Nos. 540, 542f). There are six indices at the end ; but it appears that they do not give full and complete references : e.g. in the index of place names, Ahmedabad (p. 136), Dholka (p. 136), Vaṭapadra (pp. 123, 289), Senāpura (p. 170), Śaṅkhoddhāra (p. 342) are not found.

The catalogue shows that paper MSS. mostly are in Devanāgarī script and generally they come from the Western India. Palm-leaf MSS. are in the Southern scripts. All the dated MSS. pertain to the Devanāgarī script. The earliest dated MS. appears to be No. 427 coming from Moḍherakamahāsthāna written in 1446 V. S. Next in time come Nos. 19, 68 and 402 respectively dated 1518 V.S., 1547 V.S. and 1557 V.S. The undated MS. No. 449 a palm-leaf in Grantha characters can be safely put under well-defined chronological limits as it was composed when the Hoysal King Rāmanātha was ruling. *Pramitākṣarā* (No. 543) is a commentary on the Abhiṣekamantras of the *Sāmaveda* by Vāsudeva, son of Śrīpati Dviveda. No. 47 is interesting as it is a paper MS. in Telugu characters, and is named *Nirukta*. It is an annonymous running commentary for the first Aṣṭaka of the *Ṛgveda* containing mainly extracts from Yāska and Sāyaṇa. Govinda Daśaputra,

owner of MS. No. 36 appears to be identical with the owner of a MS. of the *Vāyu-purāṇa* from the Adyar Library that I have got, their dates being respectively 1835 and 1824 V.S.

The learned introduction by Dr. RAJA raises many interesting and important topics and will amply repay perusal. The Adyar Library deserves to be congratulated for issuing the Catalogue in these hard times. Shri SARMA has done his work quite satisfactorily, and it is to be hoped that subsequent volumes as planned will be issued at proper time.

A. D. PUSALKER.

Silver Jubilee Volume. Edited by Dr. R. N. DANDEKAR. Published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. 1943. Pages 686. Price Rs. 12.

The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute completed twenty-five years of its useful existence in 1942 and celebrated the Silver Jubilee in January 1943. The book under review, forming the twenty-third volume of the "*Annals*", has been issued as a Silver Jubilee Volume. The present volume along with the Progress of Indic Studies will, no doubt, be fitting memorials to the Silver Jubilee.

This is a sumptuous volume containing as many as 70 articles on a variety of subjects by many eminent scholars. Naturally, all articles cannot be ranked as first rate, but there are many contributions characterized by patient industry and deep study that are original and shed a new light on various problems. It is impossible in this review even to refer to all the papers which have broadly been classified under Veda and Avesta, Epics and *Purāṇas*, Classical and Modern Literature, Religion and Philosophy, Buddhism and Jainism, History, Archaeology, Epigraphy, Linguistics, Sociology, Technical Sciences and Study of MSS.

The contributors include scholars outside India also. It is painful to see that Mrs. C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS, Prof. S. S. Suryanarayana SASTRI and Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR are no more among the living, and their articles in this volume are probably their last contributions. We shall briefly refer to some of the more important papers in this Volume.

Dr. P. K. ACHARYA has written an informing article on the 'Mānasāra Vāstu-śāstra' giving analytical contents of that important work, which the author places before Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*. Dr. V. M. APTE and Prof. V. A. GADGIL deal respectively with 'Ṛta in the *Rgveda*' and 'Indra, the Representation of the Highest Physical Aspect of Nature.' Prof. VELANKAR'S paper on 'Divodāsa Atithigva and other Atithigvas' collects together the references to and incidents connected with Divodāsa and Atithigvas in the *Ṛgveda* and shows that Divodāsa and other three Atithigvas were different persons. Under the section of 'Epics and Purāṇas' special mention may be made of Dr. SUKTHANKAR'S : 'The Parvasaṁgraha figures' (alas! his last paper) explaining the different figures for Adhyāyas and Ślokas given in the Paravasaṁgraha Adhyāya of different editions of the *Mahābhārata*. Dr. AGRAWALA deals with 'Prākāravapra' in *Mbh.* IV. 10.1, which he takes as qualifying the Kuṇḍalas, meaning the spiral attachment and the cubical block portion of the Kuṇḍalas. Prof. MANKAD elaborates his 'Manvantara-Caturyuga' theory, and Dr. TRIVEDA boldly challenges the 'Sheet Anchor of Indian History' and considers the Greek accounts hitherto taken to allude to Candragupta Maurya as referring to Candragupta I of the Gupta dynasty. Prof. K. V. Rangaswami AIYANGAR makes a detailed analysis of the works of Govindarāja, the famous South-Indian commentator. Mrs. C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS makes a fervent appeal in the cause of the Pali Text Society. Prof. P. K. GODE with his usual thoroughness and precision, writes about the genealogy and descendants of Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara,

the Commentator of the *Mahābharata*. Mm. Prof. KANE has an interesting paper on the 'Meaning of Ācārvāḷ'. Dr. HERAS discusses about the three-headed animals at Mohenjo-Daro. Shri JOGLEKAR places the 'Home of the Sātavāhanas' in Mahārāṣṭra. Dr. Kunhan RAJA has written about the hero in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, and Prof. PISHAROTI about 'Sex Life in Ancient India'. Papers on Linguistics by Dr. EDGERTON, Dr. KATRE, and Dr. Siddheshwar VERMA are well worth perusal. Dr. UPADHYE'S paper on 'Hariṣeṇa's *Dharmaparīkṣā* in Apabhraṁśa' is characterized by soundness and scholarship. Dr. SETH brings down the date of the Ṛgveda to the 6th century B.C. Prof. SRINIVASACHARI contributes an important paper on 'Studies in the Growth of Modern Tamil.' Mm. Dr. Gaurishankar OJHA deals with the Nānānā Grant of Caulukya Kumārapāladeva dated V.S. 1212, which is in Sanskrit and in Nāgarī characters. Dr. Shama SASTRY gives an astronomical interpretation of the Indra-Ahalyā myth, taking it to refer to a solar eclipse. In his paper on Anubhūtisvarūpācārya, Dr. RAGHAVAN ascribes to him the authorship of *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādyavyākhyā, Gītābhāṣyaṭippaṇa, Iṣṭasiddhivivaraṇa* and *Prakaṭārthavivaraṇa*. Prof. Śrīkaṇṭha SASTRI deals with some Sanskrit poets of Karṇāṭaka.

As already stated, it is not possible even to refer to the other valuable articles in the book. The above will, it is hoped, sufficiently indicate the important material presented in the Volume. The Institute has placed the scholarly world under obligations by issuing such an important publication.

A. D. PUSALKER

A Glossary of Philosophical Terms (Sanskrit-English) Compiled by Shri C. V. Shanker RAU M.A. Published by the Tirumalai-Tirupati Devasthanam Press, Madras. Shri Venkatesvara Oriental Series, No. 3. pp. 88, Price Rs. 3/- or 4*s*. 6*d*.

In the absence of a standard dictionary of philosophical technical terms of Sanskrit rendered into their English equivalents, every translator of a philosophic Sanskrit text has to face the question, viz. how to render the various technical terms into English acceptable to all. The book under review provides some help to the above difficulty.

A committee to prepare a standard dictionary of the above kind has been formed, on an All-India basis, under the chairmanship of Prof. R. D. VADEKAR, M.A. of Poona. We will watch the progress of the committee's work with interest.

The book under review, as an attempt in the above direction, provides ample testimony of the labour the compiler has taken to include technical terms of all systems of Indian Philosophy, including Buddhism and Jainism. The compiler has also provided the definitions of important terms, from various treatises, in the footnotes.

I wish the compiler would omit some commonplace words like *kāca, kānti* etc. from a glossary of such a type and try to give all possible exact meanings in which a particular term is used, in the second edition of the book and make it more comprehensive.

We congratulate the compiler for producing a book useful for an average student of Indian philosophical literature.

The printing and get-up of the book are nice.

PRABHUDAS C. SHAH

A Bibliography of the Rāmāyaṇa. By N. A. GORE, M.A. Published by the author, 327, Sadashiv, Poona, 1943. 8vo. pp. vii+99. Price Re. 1/8-.

The work under review is a bibliography mainly of the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa. The material collected for the purpose is distributed here under four rubrics: (1) Text-editions; (2) Translations; (3) Adaptations etc.; and (4) General criticism: (*a*) Books and (*b*) Papers, making up a total of 366 entries. An important feature is one of the appendices which presents us with extracts from various works (including German ones) relating to some points connected with the study of the Rāmāyaṇa, these points themselves being listed separately in Appendix III. The usefulness of the compilation is further enhanced by supplying us, in the case of some Books and Papers (including German and French writings), with a brief note on their contents or on the main thesis established in them.

It goes without saying that such sort of works fulfils a real need, as they contribute towards labour-saving and what is much more important, towards forming an exact idea as to how much field has been already covered and what aspects await further investigation in a particular subject of research. But, obviously, their usefulness is intimately related to exhaustiveness. Quite conscious of this fact, the compiler admits that a considerable amount of relevant information may have been left out because of the relative inaccessibility of some sources created by their medium (writings in some Indian vernaculars and in continental languages) and of the urgency of publishing. Consequently, he intends to bring out 'at no distant date', an exhaustive Bibliography of the Rāmāyaṇa—or shall we suggest, of the Rāma-literature?—which, we can hope, will also draw upon (1) Parallel versions of the Rāma-legend like the Buddhist, Jaina etc.; (2) Puranic, dramatic and other Sanskrit sources; and (3) the literature in the Middle Indian and the New Indian.

HARIVALLABH BHAYANI

The Lalitā Cult: By V. R. Ramachandra DIKSHITAR, M.A. Bulletin of the Department of Indian History and Archæology, No. 8. University of Madras, 1942. Pp. vii + 100. Price Rs. 3.

Prof. DIKSHITAR is a well-known figure in the domain of Puranic studies by his brilliant monographs and articles on the *Matsya Purāṇa*, *Vāyu Purāṇa* and *Purāṇas* in general. He combines in himself the Sanskritist and the historian, and as a result his conclusions are sound and command much respect. In the present work, Prof. DIKSHITAR studies the cult of Lalitā from a historical standpoint.

In the first two chapters is presented an analysis of the Lalitopākhyāna of the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* and it is shown that the Lalitā cult was only a phase of the general Śakti cult. The next chapters deal with the Durgā cult and other aspects of Śaktism through the ages and their place in Vedic literature. The last chapter examines the philosophic basis of the cult. Incidentally, Śaktism in the Indus Valley, origin of the Mother Cult and similar topics of historical interest are considered.

The book gives a correct exposition of the Śakti cult, and it would certainly help, as the author hopes, in removing some misconceptions and unproved theories which have obscured the true import and value of the Śakti cult. We strongly commend the book to the students of the *Purāṇas* as also to those interested in ancient Indian culture.

A. D. PUSALKER

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS BY SHRI K. M. MUNSHI ON THE OCCASION OF THE SIXTH FOUNDATION DAY OF THE BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN

I HAVE great pleasure in presiding over the Sixth Foundation Day of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. During these five years the Bhavan has had the good fortune of making great progress.

The Bhavan together with the Mungalal Trust owns property worth seven lakhs of rupees. Its annual budget of Rs. 9,000 a year in 1938 has grown to Rs. 60,000 a year ; and yet in view of our expanding work we want more money. It began with one Professor, one Honorary Professor, one Lecturer and two post-graduate students ; to-day our staff consists of five Professors, five Honorary Professors, one Reader, four Pandits, four Research Fellows, nine Post-graduate scholars and fifteen students in the Shastric branch. Besides Acharya Jinavijayaji our Director and Dr. Pusalker our Assistant Director, we have other scholars of All-India reputation, Prof. K. S. Vakil, I.E.S., ex-Principal of the Kolhapur Training College, and Acharya Dikshitar, late of the Tirupati College. From the Bhavan staff during these years, one scholar has taken a Doctorate. In the years 1941 and 1943 students of the Bhavan have passed the M.A. examination in Sanskrit in First Class standing first in the University.

The Bhavan's work has expanded largely. It provides post-graduate tuition and extension lectures in Indological subjects free to students. It holds weekly talks and lectures which have, since it came to Chowpatty, become a source of attraction. Members of our staff have taken part in several functions in the city.

But our main work has been publication. Our English and Hindi-Gujarati *Bhāratīya Vidyās*, as also the monthly *Bharatīya Vidyā Patrikā* are being published regularly. On behalf of the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad, the Bhavan also publishes the *Parishad Patrika.*

The publications of the Bhavan including those for the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad and the Singhi Series include seven original works, fifteen critical editions of hitherto unpublished old works and five of translations. Of these thirteen are Sanskrit, two Hindi, nine Gujarati, three English and one Pali. Besides these, nineteen works are in the press and sixty-one under preparation. Two parts of the Mulraj Solanki Millennial Celebration Volume are also in the press.

Many institutions are now in one form or the other associated with the Bhavan. Among them are the Mumbadevi Pathashala and the Devidas Sikshapith ; the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad and the Sahitya Sansad ; the Hansraj Morarji Public School, the Kabibai, the Fellowship and the Liberty High Schools and now the Bharatiya Itihasa Samiti.

I am glad to inform you that the Bharatiya Itihasa Samiti has undertaken the preparation and publication of a comprehensive history of India from India's point of view. Its office is for the present in the Bhavan; and its activities will remain somewhat associated with the Bhavan. When the Bhavan was founded the preparation of such a history was one of its objects. In 1938, in my Vissonji lectures on 'Early Aryans in Gujarat' at the Bombay University, I voiced the general feeling for such a history. Later in my address to the Gujarat Vernacular Society I defined the scope for such a history, and in editing the *Glory that was Gūjaradeśa* I realised the need and the scope for such a work.

When the war ends India must be ready to tell the world the pride of her glorious past, the anguish of her fateful present, the claims of her just future; and to convey the message of her mighty culture. The translation of this idea into a practical scheme is due to my friends, the Birla Brothers whose responsiveness to all great and noble causes which serve the country is a source of pride for our generation in this country.

On this occasion I miss my great friend Sheth Meghji Mathradas, one of the pillars of the Bhavan's strength. He was to me a brother, nay, more than a brother; he was my business self in all the activities with which we were associated; and his unstinted help made me strong with the strength of a giant. Every day I feel his loss; more particularly as regards the Bhavan, which has yet to grow. It was his ambition and mine to have a College associated with the Bhavan, which would become the centre of the Aryan culture for which the Bhavan stands. But it was not to be. He died before the wish could be realised. In his last days, when eye and ear and voice had almost failed he gave my wife a message for me on a slate. "If I recover I shall raise a college for the Bhavan." To translate his cherished dreams into a reality is now for you, gentlemen. You know already that an appeal has been issued by the Bhavan for the purpose and I hope a sufficient response will be forthcoming.

What the Bhavan however wants above everything is a well equipped library. The Bhavan has the nucleus; but not the library it wants · nor a home for such a library. A library is not a collection of dead books. It has a soul; it needs a body, a building of its own. Round such a body should cling the associations which build up traditions of learning, art, literature and culture which give the inspiration of a living faith in Arya Dharma to generations to come.

Ladies and gentlemen, I need hardly say how thankful I am to the staff of the Bhavan for their energetic work; to its friends now all over the country for the interest that they take in its growth; to the donors but for whom the Bhavan would be starved. I want the Bhavan to grow greater, bigger, and richer so that it may be a shrine some day—a shrine to which the weary of the flesh and the thirsty of knowledge may flock from all parts of the world for sustenance—a shrine from which may flow the inspiration of Arya Dharma to a modern world which so sadly needs it.

NOTES OF THE BHAVAN*

On the auspicious occasion of the Sixth Foundation Day of the BHAVAN we have great pleasure in welcoming you to this gathering. The BHAVAN has just completed the first five years of its career. Much time was in the beginning naturally spent over the necessary spade-work ; and, though progress has been slow, a sure foundation has been laid for future development, and we can look forward to achievements which will not only redound to the credit of the BHAVAN but will constitute a fairly considerable contribution to the advancement of Indian culture which has been the chief end in view in the establishment of the institution.

Before we proceed we have to record with grief the passing away of Sheth Meghji Mathradas Toprani, who was one of our Honorary Members and a member of the Executive Committee. His services to the cause of education in general, and the BHAVAN in particular, are well-known. The Executive Committee has resolved to establish a college in his name and to raise funds for the purpose, and an appeal for Rs. seven lakhs is being made. A substantial sum has already been subscribed, and we hope that the appeal will meet with a liberal response from the friends and admirers of the departed soul. During the year the BHAVAN has also lost by death Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, who was one of our Founder-Members.

2. Annual General Meeting :

The Annual General Meeting of the Members of the BHAVAN was held on April 11, 1943, when the President gave a review of the last year's activities and the Secretaries presented the Annual Report and the Statement of the Audited Accounts, and the Balance Sheet as on December 31, 1942, duly audited by the BHAVAN'S Auditors, Messrs. Jayantilal Thakkar & Co., which were approved and adopted by the members.

3. Departures :

The following members of the staff left the BHAVAN during the year under report : (1) Dr. Manilal PATEL ; (2) Shri Harilal G. PANDYA ; (3) Shri G. N. DIKE who passed his M. A. Examination in April last, standing first class first in Sanskrit, and won the

* Progress Report for the period November 1942 to November 1943.

Zala Vedanta Prize. He has been appointed as lecturer in Sanskrit at the Sir Parasuram Bhau College, Poona.

4. New Academic Appointments :

1. Acharya JINAVIJAYAJI : Director.
2. Dr. A. D. PUSALKAR, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D. : Assistant Director and Head of the Sanskrit Department.
3. Acharya T. A. Venkateswara DIKSHITAR, Siromani, Head of the Department of Vedic Studies, and Acharya of the Department of Shastric Studies.
4. Prof. K. S. VAKIL, M. Ed., M.R.S.T., F.R.G.S., I.E.S (Retired) : Hon. Professor and Head of the Depart ment of Educational Studies.
5. Dr. I. J. S. TARAPOREWALA, B.A., Ph.D., Bar-at-Law . Hon. Professor in the Department of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology.
6. Prof. Jayantkrishna H. DAVE, M.A., LL.B., Advocate (O.S.) : Hon. Professor of Dharmashastra.
7. Prof. A. S. GOPANI, M.A. : Head of the Library Department.
8. Prof. S. D. GYANI, M.A. : Professor in the Department of Indian History.
9. Prof. Yashwant SHUKLA, M.A. : Professor in the Department of Gujarati.
10. Shri H. C. BHAYANI, M.A. : Reader in the Department of Sanskrit.
11. Sarvatantrasvatantra Pandit MADHAVACHARYA : Pandit in the Department of Shastric Studies.
12. Shri Ramanlal G. BHATT, B.A. (Hons.) : Research Fellow in the Department of Gujarati.
13. Shri Gajanan M. PATIL, M.A., LL.B., Research Fellow in the Department of Sanskrit.
14. Shri T. K. KRISHNASWAMI, B.A. (Hons.), (B.H.U.), & Acharya (Benares) : Research Fellow in the Department of Sanskrit.
15. Shri Shantilal M. DESAI, M.A. : Research Fellow in the Department of Gujarati.

The following were taken up as Research Scholars in the subjects mentioned against their names :

1. Shri Shankarlal C. BHATT, B.A. (Hons.)—Sanskrit (From Baroda College).
2. Shri Navinchandra A. DOSHI, B.A. (Hons.)—Sanskrit (From Samaldas College, Bhavnagar).

3. Shri Bhupendra G. UPADHYAYA, B.A. (Hons.)—Gujarati (From M.T.B. College, Surat).
4. Shri Jitendra A. DAVE, B.A. (Hons.)—Gujarati (From St. Xavier's College, Bombay).
5. Shri Mahendra I. PANDYA, B.A.—Gujarati (From Dharmendrasinhji College, Rajkot).

5. New Administrative Appointments :

(*a*) Registrar : The post of a Registrar, who would exercise the administrative functions of the Director, was created, and Shri Chandrashanker SHUKLA was appointed as Registrar and Head of the Publication Department.

(*b*) Shri Dhansukhlal M. VAKIL, B. Com., R.A , was appointed as the Honorary Accountant

6. Co-operation with the University of Bombay :

The University of Bombay has, during the year under report, recognised Acharya Jinavijayaji as University Teacher for the Ph.D. degree in Sanskrit, Ardhamagadhi and Comparative Philology ; and Prof. T. A. Venkateswara DIKSHITAR and Prof. Yashwant SHUKLA, as University Teachers for M.A. in Sanskrit and Gujarati respectively. The number of University teachers from among the staff of the BHAVAN (including Dr. PUSALKER, Prof. A. S. GOPANI and Prof. S. D. GYANI, who have been taking classes in Sanskrit, Ardhamagadhi and Ancient Indian Culture respectively) now comes to one for Ph.D. and five for M.A.

Pandit G. V. JOSHI, Acharya (B.H.U.), has been holding Sanskrit Classes for M.A., which are open to outside students also.

7. Publications :

(*a*) *Journals* :

Bhāratīya Vidyā Vol. IV, No. 1, was published in January last. Dr. PUSALKER has now been appointed as its editor. भारतीय विद्या (Hindi-Gujarati) Vol. II, Nos. 3 and 4 (editor : Acharya JINAVIJAYAJI) were published during the year. The Hindi monthly bulletin भारतीय विद्या पत्रिका (editor : Shri K. M. MUNSHI) is being published regularly every month. Prof. S. D. GYANI has been appointed, from December, as editor of this Patrika. The publication of ગુજરાતી સાહિત્ય પરિષદ પત્રિકા was resumed in October, and two issues have been published so far under the joint editorship of Shri Chimanlal C. SHAH and Prof. Yashwant SHUKLA.

(*b*) *Bhāratīya Vidyā Series* :

The following volumes are in the press :

(*i*) संदेशरासक edited by Acharya JINAVIJAYAJI,

(*ii*) उक्तिव्यक्ति प्रकरण edited by Acharya JINAVIJAYAJI.

(*iii*) रिष्टसमुच्चय edited by Prof. A. S. GOPANI.

(*iv*) Devabodha's Commentary on the Udyogaparvan of the Mahābhārata, edited by Dr. S. K. DE.

(*c*) *Bhāratīya Vidyā Studies* :

The following volumes have been published :

(*i*) *Bhāsa*, by Dr. A. D. PUSALKER.

(*ii*) *The Schools of Vedānta*, by Shri P. NAGARAJA RAO.

(*d*) भारतीय विद्या ग्रन्थमाला (हिंदी): 'भारतीय संस्कृति' by Prof. S. D. GYANI, is in the press.

(*e*) ભારતીય વિદ્યા ગ્રન્થમાળા (ગુજરાતી): 'ધર્મોનું મિલન' (The Meeting of Religions) લેખક: રાધાકૃષ્ણન; અનુવાદક: શ્રી. ચંદ્રશંકર શુકલ is in the press, and will be out early in December.

(*f*) *Singhi Jain Series* :

Under an agreement concluded with Seth Shri Bahadur Singhji Singhi, the Series has been transferred to the Bhavan and continues to be edited by Acharya JINAVIJAYAJI. The publication of some of the books which were nearing completion was unavoidably delayed on account of MUNIJI'S preoccupation at Jesalmer. Since his return the following books in the Series have been published :

1. बृहत्कथाकोश of हरिषेण edited by Dr. A. N. UPADHYE.
2. जैन पुस्तक प्रशस्तिसंग्रह edited by Acharya JINAVIJAYAJI.

The following works are in the press :

(१) खरतरगच्छगुर्वावलि.
(२) कुमारपालचरित्रसंग्रह.
(३) विविधगच्छीयपट्टावलिसंग्रह.
(४) जैनपुस्तकप्रशस्तिसंग्रह, भा. २.
(५) विज्ञप्तिलेखसंग्रह.
(६) हरिभद्रसूरिकृत धूर्ताख्यान.
(७) उद्योतनसूरिकृत कुवलयमाला कथा.
(८) उदयप्रभसूरिकृत धर्माभ्युदय महाकाव्य.
(९) जिनेश्वरसूरिकृत कथानक कोष प्रकरण.
(१०) मेघविजयोपाध्यायकृत दिग्विजय-महाकाव्य.
(११) शान्त्याचार्यकृत न्यायावतारवार्तिक वृत्ति.
(१२) गुणपालकृत जंबूचरित्रम्.

Thirty-one more volumes are under preparation.

(*g*) *Gujarati Sahitya Parishad Series* (પરિષદ સાહિત્યમાળા)

The following books were published during the year under report :

(१) મારી બિનજવાબદાર કહાણી; લેખક: શ્રી. કનૈયાલાલ મુનશી; (મુનશી અર્ધશતાબ્દિ સ્મારક માળા).

(२) પિરામીડની છાયામાં; લેખક: શ્રી. ચંદ્રશંકર શુકલ; (વિશ્વ સાહિત્યમાળા).

The following book is in the press :

(૧) આદિવચનો અને બીજાં વ્યાખ્યાનો; લેખક : શ્રી. કનૈયાલાલ મુનશી.

The following are ready for the press :

(૧) શાહનામું.

(૨) ટૅલિરનાં નાટકો; અનુવાદક : શ્રી. ત્રિભુવનદાસ લુહાર.

(*h*) *The Glory that was Gurjaradesha* (*The Mulraj Solanki Millennial Celebrations Volume*).

The editing and compilation of the volume is well-nigh complete, and at the outset two parts, to be brought out as separate books, (1) Gujarat at the Dawn of History, and (2) Imperial Gurjaras, are in the press and are expected to be out by the middle of December. Our President is the General Editor of this Volume as also of the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad Series.

8. Extension Lectures, Bharatiya Vidya Talks, and Special Lectures :

Six Extension Lectures were delivered during the year at the present premises of the BHAVAN. Ten Bhāratīya Vidyā Talks were delivered by various members of the staff.

The following special lectures were delivered :

Date.	*Speaker.*	*Subject.*
(1) 20-2-43	Dr. S. K. DE	Some Aspects of the Bhagavad Gītā.
(2) 5-4-43	Prof. D. P. MOOKERJI	The Sociology of Modern Indian Culture
(3) 6-4-43	Prof. D. P. MOOKERJI	Indian Culture in regional Types.
(4-13) 21st June to 30th June 1943.	Mm. Anantakrishna SHASTRI	उपनिषद् भाष्यत्रयी (a series of ten lectures delivered in Sanskrit).
(14) 1-7-43.	Shri B. J. WADIA	The Backgrounds of Some of the World's Ancient Civilizations.
(15) 22-8-43	Shri K. M. MUNSHI	કૃષ્ણજયંતીનો સંદેશ
(16) 1-9-43	Prof. R. V. PATHAK	ગુજરાતી પિંગળ
(17) 3-9-43	Shri Jhaverchand MEGHANI	લોકસાહિત્ય
(18) 25-9-43	Shri Jyotindra DAVE	અખાનો હાસ્યરસ

Besides these Dr. I. J. S. TARAPOREWALA has delivered seven lectures out of the series of 24 lectures on "The Comparative Grammar of the Indo-Iranian or Aryan Languages" under the endowment made by the Parsi Innominate Trust of Bombay. These lectures will be published as a separate volume.

9. Examination Results (1943) :

(*a*) M.A. Degree :

Shri G. N. DIKE, M.A., First Class First in Sanskrit ; winner of the Bhagawandas Purushottamdas Scholarship, and Zala Vedanta Prize.

(*b*) Benares Government Sanskrit College Examinations :

Acharya (part II) : 1

Madhyama : 2

Prathama : 1.

(*c*) Bengal Sanskrit Association Examinations : Prathama : 3.

The Bengal Sanskrit Association has consented to open an examination centre at the BHAVAN.

10. The Department of Shastric Studies :

Mumbadevi Sanskrit Pathshala, Shri Purshottam Thakkar Vedashala, and Sheth Nagardas Rughnathdas Jyotish Shikshapitha.

The Pathshalas continued to make steady progress. They suffered a loss in the sad demise of Pandit Motiram SHASTRI who had been associated with the Mumbadevi Sanskrit Pathashala since its inception and was well known in Bombay for his scholarship. The BHAVAN has been fortunate enough, however, to secure the services of Acharya T. A. Venkateswara DIKSHITAR, the Ex-Principal of the Tirupati Sanskrit College, who has been placed at the head of the Departments of Vedic and Shastric Studies, and of Sarvatantrasvatantra Pandit MADHAVACHARYA. The Jyotish Committee met several times during the year and discussed plans of a scientific study of the subject, and its popularisation by a series of lectures. The Committee consists of : (1) Shri Kantilal M. VAKIL, (2) Prof. J. H. DAVE, M.A., LL.B., Advocate (O.S.); (3) Prof. A. S. GOPANI, M.A.; (4) Pandit Gautamlal DAVE.

Meetings of the Debating Society of the Pathshala students and staff are held once a fortnight where speeches are made exclusively in Sanskrit. Three such meetings have been held so far.

11. Department of Educational Studies :

This Department has been newly established under Prof. K. S. VAKIL, who has been good enough not only to offer his services to the BHAVAN in an honorary capacity, but has donated to the

BHAVAN his own library containing a large number of books on educational subjects. The President has appointed a committee of seven members, with Prof. Vakil as convenor, to study the working of (1) The BHAVAN'S Shastric Department, (2) The Hansraj Morarji Public School, Bombay, (3) The Fellowship School, Bombay, and (4) the Kabibai High School, Bombay. The report is expected to form a study in educational ideals and methods.

12. Medals :

(*a*) Shri MUNSHIJI, our President, donated to the BHAVAN a sum of Rs. 300/-, out of which one gold meual and four silver medals (named after his late revered mother Shrimati Tapibehn Munshi) for five best essays on any aspect of Indian culture. Seven essays were received and were examined by Mm. Anantakrishna SHASTRI (Calcutta), Shri Nanalal Chamanlal MEHTA, I.C.S. (Simla), and Prof. H. D. VELANKAR (Bombay). The results were as follows :

Name of Competitor	*Subject.*
Gold Medal	
1. Dr. A. D. Pusalkar, Bombay	Indus Civilization
Silver Medals	
1. Shri P. Nagaraja Rao, Benares	The Schools of Vedanta.
2. Shri T. K. Shibrurkar, Benares	Constructive Activity and Creative Tendency in Indian Culture.
3. Shri N. M. BILLIMORIA, Karachi	The Panis of the Rigveda and the script of Mohenjo Daro and Easter Islands.
4. Shri V. LAKSHMINARAYANA, Guntur	Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture as reflected in Kalidasa's Works.

(*b*) Seth Rameshwardas BIRLA has been good enough to donate to the BHAVAN two gold medals, to be awarded for the best cinema film for the year connected with Indian culture. The medals have been awarded to Shri Vijay BHATT and Shri Kanu DESAI, the Director and Artist respectively of the picture 'Rama Rajya'. We take this opportunity to thank both Seth Rameshwardas BIRLA and Shri MUNSHIJI for these medals.

13. Search for Manuscripts :

Acharya JINAVIJAYAJI's stay for six months at Jesalmer with a band of pandits and copyists for the investigation and copying of MSS. preserved in the local Jain Bhandar, is a notable event in the field of Indic researches. He was able to rescue from destruction hundreds of MSS., many of them invaluable, and was able to have several lakhs of verses copied out for further editing and publication. Acharya JINAVIJAYAJI is happily now in our midst to guide the academic activities of the BHAVAN, and his example and guidance will be a source of inspiration to many among the younger generation of scholars.

14. Bharatiya Itihasa Samiti :

To the widening activities of the BHAVAN, our President, who is also the Chairman of the Bharatiya Itihasa Samiti, has now added one more—i.e. of bringing out a comprehensive history of India with the collaboration of many experts all over India. The scheme is being outlined, and is expected to be out shortly.

15. Parishad Library :

In order to commemorate the 75th birthday of Dewan Bahadur K. M. JHAVERI, a number of institutions with which he has been connected, held a meeting in Bombay on 29th August last and collected a fund from his friends and admirers, amounting to Rs. 9,687/-, with a view to using it for augmenting the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad Library which is now situated at the Bhavan. The amount collected has been handed over to the trustees of the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad ; and the Madhyastha Sabha of the Parishad has appointed a committee of the following from among its members, with full powers to purchase books for, and look after the management of, the Parishad Library : (1) Shri K. M. MUNSHI, (2) Acharya JINAVIJAYAJI, (3) Shri Durgashanker SHASTRI, (4) Shri Chimanlal C. SHAH, and (5) Shri Chandrashanker SHUKLA.

16. Distinguished Visitors :

The following distinguished visitors were good enough to visit the BHAVAN during the year : 1. Mr. B. J. WADIA, Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University ; 2. Mr. S. N. MOOS, D.P.I., Bombay ; 3. Sir Chimanlal SETALVAD ; 4. Babu Bahadur Singhji SINGHI ; (Calcutta) ; 5. Rai Bahadur Maharaj Prabhunathsinghji ; 6. The H. H. Thakorsaheb of LAKHTAR ; 7. Dr. S. K. DE, (Dacca) ; 8. Dr. RAGHUVIR (Lahore) ; 9. Mahamahopadhyaya Anantakrishna SASTRI (Calcutta) ; 10. Goswami Shri Dikshitji (Bombay) ; 11. Shri Ramanlal V. DESAI (Baroda) ; 12. Prof. R. V. PATHAK (Ahmedabad) ; 13. Shri Jhaverchand MEGHANI (Ranpur) ;

14. Dr. M. R MAJMUDAR (Baroda); 15. Pandit Rahula SANKRITYAYANA.

17. Conclusion :

We have had to shift again last June our premises from Worli to Chowpatty. Though these transfers dislocated our work for a while, and though we are hard pressed for space at present, the latest change has proved to have been for the good to some extent. The BHAVAN is now easily accessible from many parts of the city, and the large audiences at the meetings held in the BHAVAN have attested the increasing popularity of the work being done by the BHAVAN. The handicaps due to the general world situation continue to operate with added severity, but the Bhavan, undaunted by these, hopes to pursue its mission and spread its message of Bhāratīya Vidyā.

The report would be incomplete without a grateful reference to the services of our President, Shri MUNSHIJI. It is no exaggeration to say that there is no activity, academic or administrative, that does not merit his attention and does not bear the imprint of the zeal and solicitude with which he is guiding the affairs of the BHAVAN.

We take this opportunity of expressing our thankfulness to our colleagues on the Executive Committee, to all those who have helped and are helping the BHAVAN in a variety of ways, and also to the Government of Bombay for the grant of Rs. 3,000 that they were pleased to make to the BHAVAN for the year 1942-43.

We thank you once more for responding to our invitation and attending the function.

TRICUMDAS DWARKADAS
P. R. BHATT
Secretaries.

Nov. 28, 1943.

EDITORIAL NOTES

I.—OURSELVES.

Consequent on the resignation of Dr. PATEL, the Executive Committee were pleased to appoint us as Editors of the *Bhāratīya Vidyā*. We requested a number of scholars to contribute papers to the *Bhāratīya Vidyā*; the response has been encouraging. Some articles have been received and many have been promised at a future date. We thank those that have sent articles or have promised to send. With the co-operation of scholars both outside and in the Bhavan, we feel confident that we shall be able to maintain the high standard expected of this Journal. Any suggestions intended to enhance the value and usefulness of the Journal are welcome and will be carefully attended to.

War conditions have necessitated reduction in the number of pages from the next issue. It would be better if in future no article exceeds 10 typed sheets as a rule. It is regretted that on account of circumstances beyond our control the present issue could not be brought out earlier. The next number will be a joint issue of Vol. V, and will probably be out in May 1944. After that, the numbers may be expected to be published regularly during May and November.

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II.—GLORY THAT WAS GŪRJARADEŚA.

Thanks to Shri MUNSHIJI, the work of bringing out the *Glory that was Gūrjaradeśa* as the Mularaja Solanki millennial celebration volume is making a steady progress. Shri MUNSHIJI is the General Editor, and besides he has written a whole part and major portion of another part covering nearly two fifths of the entire work. We can only state here that Shri MUNSHIJI sheds light over many a dark corner, bringing together a lot of material hitherto unknown or not properly appreciated, and offers many a new interpretation of existing facts.

Press copy of almost the whole book is ready. Owing to war conditions, however, it has been decided to issue the work in parts. The first volume dealing with "The Pre-historic West Coast" has already been published, covering about 150 pages of Super Royal size. The volume is nicely got-up, with plates, illustrations and a map. The Introductory section contains valuable contributions by Prof. D. N. WADIA (Geology) and Dr. H. D. SANKALIA (Pre-and Proto-History of Gujarata). Shri MUNSHIJI's "Aryans : Pre-Vedic" takes a critical and comprehensive survey of the house and the international contacts of the early Aryans in the pre-Vedic and Vedic period, and deals, among other things, with the Atharvan Aryans and the Indus Valley culture. Dr. PUSALKER has written on the Yādavas, wherein he has also considered the historicity of Kṛṣṇa. The Third Volume on the "Imperial Gurjaras" by Shri MUNSHIJI is in press and will be out shortly. This is the first systematic attempt at presenting the regional history of Bṛhad-Gūrjaradeśa from the earliest times and we feel confident that the Volumes will be well received by scholars.

III.—BHĀRATĪYA ITIHĀSA SAMITI.

Shri K. M. MUNSHI has often stressed the need of writing a comprehensive history of India from India's point of view, and the co-operation of the Birla Brothers for this great and noble national cause has enabled Shri MUNSHIJI to

translate his ideas into a practical scheme. Bhāratīya Itihāsa Samiti has recently been formed under the chairmanship of Shri K. M. MUNSHI for the preparation and publication of a comprehensive history of India from India's point of view. The office of the Samiti is in the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan and Acharya JINAVIJAYAJI, the Director of the Bhavan, and Dr. Sir S. RAHAKRISHNAN are among the members of the Samiti.

When Shri MUNSHIJI had been to Cawnpore last December to inaugurate the Vikrama Bi-millennial Celebrations he had talks with eminent historians and representatives of the Indian History Congress, regarding the scheme of the Samiti. The latter does not stand as a rival to the Congress scheme, and Shri MUNSHI has expressed his willingness to cooperate with the History Scheme by being a member of the Executive Board.

Bhāratīya Itihāsa Parişad founded by Dr. Rajendra PRASAD has also undertaken the preparation of a comprehensive history of India. Dr. Sir RADHAKRISHNAN and Acharya JINAVIJAYAJI held conference with the prominent members of the Parişad, and the Samiti has shouldered the responsibility of carrying out the Parişad scheme as well.

The Indian History Department of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan has been entrusted with the work of the preparation of the history of India by the Bhāratīya Itihāsa Samiti. The History Department has been strengthened by the addition of Dr. R. C. MAJUMDAR, ex-Vice-Chancellor of Dacca University and a celebrated historian of international reputation. Dr. MAJUMDAR has prepared a draft of the scheme of the history in 10 volumes of 500 pages each. Various eminent scholars and historians have already promised their support and co-operation in contributing chapters and sections to the Volumes, and several others are being approached in this connection. The University of Bombay has been kind enough to agree to accommodate the Editorial Board of the Samiti in the University Library. It is expected that MSS from scholars will be received before June 1945 after which the Editorial Board will work at coordination and preparation of the press copy. When completed, this colossal work will be a creditable performance not only for the Samiti and the Bhavan but for the Indian Scholarship in general.

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IV.—SEARCH FOR MANUSCRIPTS AT JESALMER.

Acharaya JINAVIJAYAJI, the Director of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan stayed at Jesalmer for six months with a band of pandits and copyists for the investigation and transcription of MSS preserved in the local Jain Bhandar. The Jain Bhandars usually contain many rare and valuable MSS, and the Jesalmer Bhandar in particular was reputed to be rich in rare and unique MSS. MSS in these Bhandars are no doubt carefully preserved, but they remain as sealed books to all investigators in the field. Acharya JINAVIJAYAJI was able to rescue from destruction hundreds of MSS, and also got transcripts of several lakhs of verses prepared under his supervision for editing and publication. This valuable service rendered by Acharya JINAVIJAYAJI to the cause of Oriental Learning is indeed a notable event in the field of Indic researches.

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V.—GUJARATI SAHITYA PARISAD SAMMELANA, BARODA.

The fifteenth Sammelan of the Gujarati Sahitya Parisad was held at Baroda on the 25th, 26th and 27th of December 1943. Lady Vidyagauri Nilakantha was the General President. Literature, Art and Science were the different sections this year, and Shri Dhumaketu (Gaurishanker JOSHI), Shri Kanu DESAI and Shri Bhogilal PATWA were elected respective Presidents at these sections.

Among the important achievements of this session of the Parisad were the inauguration of the Gujarat University movement and the scheme to establish a living and growing contact with other provincial conferences such as the Rajasthani and Hindi Sahitya Parishads.

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VI.—BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE, POONA.

Founded in 1917, the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute completed twenty-five years of its existence in 1942, and celebrated its Silver Jubilee in 1943. The achievements of the Institute in various fields are too well-known to require recapitulation here. The critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* has extended the fame of the Institute and of Indian scholarship far and wide over the globe. The Bhavan was represented by Dr. Manilal PATEL. Dr. Sir S. RADHAKRISHNAN was the chief guest and the programme included an informal discussion on some topics of Indological interest, and a lecture on the message of Naimiṣāraṇya by Dr. Kunhan RAJA. We wish the Bhandarkar Institute all success in their undertakings and hope that their fervent appeal for funds may receive good response.

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VII.—CRITICAL EDITION OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA.

The sad, sudden and premature death of Dr. SUKTHANKAR, the General Editor of the *Mahābhārata*, on the 21st January last was a great shock to the *Mahābhārata* Department in particular. The Committee is to be congratulated on their choice of the next General Editor. Dr. BELVALKAR is a well-known figure among Sanskritists and he has had experience of editing the *Bhiṣmaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*. Hitherto about 45% of the work has been completed by Dr. SUKTHANKAR. It is the scheme of the Institute to make press-copy of the book ready. The financial condition of *Mahābhārata* Department is very unstable and it deserves monetary grants that the States, Nobles, and rich people may be pleased to make.

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VIII.—CHICAGO PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS, SEPTEMBER 1893.

The year 1943 marks the Golden Jubilee of the Parliament of Religions held at Chicago. It may be recalled that the sponsors of the Parliament had not arranged for any delegate representing Hinduism, and it was with great difficulty that Swami VIVEKANANDA without credentials, friend, money or influence in America could secure a hearing at Parliament. He thanked the youngest of nations in the name of the most ancient monks in the world, in the name of the mother of religions, and in the name of the millions and millions of Hindu people of all classes and sects. He boldly claimed that Hinduism had a message for mankind which modern world sorely needed. It was mainly through Swami VIVEKANANDA that the West recognised the claims of Hinduism and he was regarded as the messenger of a new era. For the Swami, Hinduism was co-extensive with Universal Religion, and harmony of all religions was the central theme of his teaching.

Swami VIVEKANANDA can rightly be called the maker of modern India. He tried to rouse his countrymen from their age-long lethargy, and emphasised the essentials of and permanent values in their culture, morals, religion and spirituality. He did not denounce the caste system which was mainly introduced to keep out competition and which aimed at levelling up of all to the status of a Brahmin. The Swami pleaded for the uplift of women on national lines and placed before them the ideals of Sītā and Sāvitrī so that there should be no imitations of Western standards. The lack of faith and physical strength was the root cause of our failures according to the Swami. "Strength is Life, Weakness is Death" he said;

You will understand the *Gītā* better with your biceps muscles a little stronger". He believed in the potential divinity of each soul and "the national ideals of India are renunciation and service". "The only religion that ought to be taught" said Swami, "is the religion of fearlessness". The Swamiji's prediction that mere material prosperity without a fundamental spiritual outlook believing in Universal brotherhood would lead to wars has been amply borne out by the present catastrophe. Spiritual greatness of but a few, on the contrary, when countless millions were pining in misery spelt disaster for any country. The Swami therefore, recommended the union between the East and the West by a judicious exchange of Indian spirituality with Western materialism. His ideal was to spiritualise the material civilisation of the world on the basis of practical Vedānta. The various Vedānta centres and branches of the Ramakrishna Math and Mission have been spreading India's message of spirituality and service in foreign lands. The Math and Mission centres in India however, concentrate more on philanthropy in addition to lectures and classes in Vedānta and have always conducted charitable dispensaries and educational institutions, and carried on relief works when necessary.

IX.—TWELFTH ALL INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE, BENARES.

At the last Session of the Conference at Hyderabad, on the invitation of the Vice-Chancellor, Delhi University, Delhi was decided as the venue of the Twelfth session. Delhi, however, intimated its inability to hold the conference and the Executive Committee were put in a fix regarding the place and arrangements for the Twelfth session. In this connection, we thoroughly endorse the views expressed by Dr. RAJA in the *Adyar Library Bulletin* and recommended to the Executive Committee to consider them. Thanks to the Vice-Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University, it was decided to hold the Conference at Benares on the 31st December 1943 and the two days following. The Hindu University deserves to be congratulated on undertaking to shoulder the responsibilities of holding the Conference at so short a notice. Rao Bahadur Dr. S. K. BELVALKAR was the General President.

Benares is traditionally well known as a great centre of learning, and the last session of the Conference was indeed a grand success. Acharya JINAVIJAYAJI, Dr. PUSALKER and Acharya DIKSHITAR attended the Conference as delegates of the Bhavan. The session was well attended by Orientalists all over India, and the symposia on the Vikrama Era, Mahābhārata War, Bhāsa, etc., were special features of this session. MM. Prof. P. V. KANE is the General President of the next Conference which will probably be held at Jaipur, and the Sectional Presidents include Prof. H. D. VELANKAR (Vedic), Prof. K. A. Subrahmanya AIYAR (Sanskrit), Acharya JINAVIJAYAJI (Prakrit and Jainism), Prof. V. R. R. DIKSHITAR (History), Dr. P. C. BAGCHI (Pali and Buddhism), Dr. S. SEN (Linguistics) and Shri M. B. GARDE (Archaeology).

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X.—SIXTH INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS, ALIGARH.

The sixth session of the Indian History Congress was held at Aligarh on the 26th, 27th and 28th December 1943. Rao Bahadur K. N. DIKSHIT, Director General of Archæology in India, was the General President. The Bhavan was represented at the Congress by Dr. P. M. JOSHI, Dr. A. D. PUSALKAR and Prof. S. D. GYANI. The General Secretary referred to the progress made by the Congress in its scheme of preparing a comprehensive history of India. The University of Madras has invited the next session, at which Dr. S. N. SEN will be the General President. Pandit M. S. VATS, Mm. Prof. V. V. MIRASHI, Prof. S. NADVI, Dr. K.

R. QUANUNGO and Dr. Bisheshwar PRASAD are the Sectional Presidents for the ensuing session.

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XI.—INDIAN CULTURE ESSAY COMPETITION.

We invite the attention of our readers to the Indian Culture Essay Competition, particulars about which appear elsewhere in this number. One of the special features of the competition is that the essays may be written in Sanskrit, Hindi or English, so that ample scope is given to pandits, well versed in traditional learning but not adept in English, for participating in the competition. There is, again, fairly wide scope to a competitor to write on the subject of his choice in any particular groups. In the opinion of the Judges who examined the essays in the 1943 competition, the essays were of a high standard, and in a way, the medals served as an incentive. This year's competitions also, we feel sure, will attract a good number of sound research papers. The donors of medals deserve to be congratulated for their generous service in the cause of Indology.

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XII.—DALMIA JAIN TRUST FELLOWSHIPS.

We have pleasure in announcing the donation by the Dalmia Jain Trust of 5 fellowships each of the value of Rs. 55 per mensem for a period of three years to the Bhavan. Jain scholars carrying on studies or research in any branch of Indian Culture in the Bhavan are eligible to these scholarships. Non-Jains may also be awarded these fellowships provided they carry on study or research in any subject dealing with Jain culture. We are to thank the trustees for this generous donation and also our Director Acharya JINAVIJAYAJI for bringing the activities of the Bhavan to the notice of the donors.

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XIII.—IN MEMORIUM.

The Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan of which this journal is an organ, has sustained irreparable loss in the sad death of Sheth Meghji MATHURADAS, one of the Honorary Members and a member of the Executive Committee of the Bhavan. He was prominently associated with the Bhavan since its inception and took keen interest in its various activites. The Bhavan owes much to Sheth Meghji MATHURADAS and the scheme of perpetuating his memory by starting a college in his name is sure to meet with immediate response from his numerous friends and admirers.

In his Presidential Address on the occasion of the Sixth Foundation Day of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Shri K. M. MUNSHI made a touching reference to Seth Meghji MATHURADAS in the following words :

" On this occasion I miss my great friend Sheth Meghji MATHURADAS, one of the pillars of the Bhavan's strength. He was to me a brother, nay more than a brother ; he was my business self in all the activities with which we were associated ; and his unstinted help made me strong with the strength of a giant. Every day I feel his loss ; more particularly as regards the Bhavan, which has yet to grow. It was his ambition and mine to have a College associated with the Bhavan, which could become the centre of the Aryan culture for which the Bhavan stands. But it was not to be. He died before the wish could be realised. In his last days, when eye and ear and voice had almost failed he gave my wife a message for me on a slate " If I recover I shall raise a college for the Bhavan." To translate his cherished dreams into a reality is now for you, gentlemen. You know already that an appeal

has been issued by the Bhavan for the purpose and I hope a sufficient response will be forthcoming."

We associate ourselves with Shri MUNSHIJI's remarks.

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In the death of MM. Prof S. Kuppuswami SASTRI Indological studies in general and Sanskrit scholarship in particular have suffered a serious loss. Starting his career as the Principal of the Sanskrit College, Mylapore, and later of Raja's College of Sanskrit, Tiruvadi, Prof. Kuppuswami SASTRI became Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in the Presidency College, Madras, in 1914. After retirement from that post he became Honorary Professor of Sanskrit at the Annamalai University. Professorship of Sanskrit at the Presidency College carried with it Curatorship of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, and in that capacity Prof. Kuppuswami SASTRI brought out about 60 volumes of Descriptive Catalogues and Triennial Catalogues. He started the *Journal of Oriental Research* and the Sanskrit Academy in 1927 in which year he was made Mahāmahopādhyāya. Prof. Kuppuswami SASTRI combined in himself the traditional Sastric learning with modern research methods of critical and historical investigation. There was scarcely any branch of Sanskrit in which he was not proficient. He has edited *Brahmasiddhi*, *Nilakaṇṭhavijaya*, *Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi*, *Naiṣadha*, *Viṇāvāsavadatta*, and *Vibhramaviveka*. On his 55th birthday, he was presented with Commemoration Volume Prof. Kuppuswami SASTRI was the first editor of the *New Catalogus Catalogorum*, which has been undertaken by the Madras University.

At the last All-India Oriental Conference held at Benares, Dr. BELVALKAR, the General President, made an eloquent appeal for starting a Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute at Madras on the lines of the Bhandarkar Institute of Poona and the Ganganath Jha Institute of Allahabad. Friends and admirers of the late Mm. Prof. SASTRI have issued an appeal soliciting liberal contributions towards the realisation of this project which is estimated to require atleast a lakh of Rupees. We fully endorse the appeal and hope that it will meet with a liberal response. Contributions may be sent to Sir Rao Bahadur K. V. Krishnaswami AIYAR, Advocate, 6 North Mada Street, Mylapore.

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The Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan has suffered a great loss in the death of Pandit Motiram SASTRI who was in charge of Shri Mumbadevi Sanskrit Pathashala, ever since its association with the Bhavan. Receiving his Sanskrit education in the traditional way at Benares, Pandit Motiram SASTRI was equally at home in all branches of Sanskrit learning. He was a good teacher and his reading was vast and memory remarkable. With all the burden of Sastric learning and orthodox training Pandit Motiram always kept an open mind and had a charm of manner. He was on leave for over a year on account of high blood pressure to which he ultimately succumbed.

AN APPEAL FOR A COLLEGE TO BE FOUNDED AFTER SHETH MEGHJI MATHURADAS

SHRI MEGHJI MATHURADAS was a self-made man of large sympathies. He served many philanthropic causes and in particular, education and was closely associated with several charitable institutions, including the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, the Kabibai Charity Trust, the Kanji Khetsey Charity Trust, the Jadavji Kara Trust, the Jadavji Jethabhai Trust, the Hansraj Damodar Toprani Trust, the Karsondas Madhavdas Trust, the Goculdas Pasta Trust, the Zandu Dhanvantari College, Jamnagar, and the Mungalal Goenka Sanskrit Trust. He also founded the Meghji Mathuradas Charity Trust. His great services were not limited to giving money ; there was not a detail of the institution he looked after which he did not personally see to ; and his vast powers of organisation were spent in raising round him a world of charitable agencies, which worked well and economically Unassuming as he was, few knew the extent of his philanthropy, his patriotism or his personal exertions on their behalf. For national causes he paid freely ; so, for the poor and distressed ; so, for his religion and culture, and in most cases anonymously.

One of his cherished wishes was to have a college associated with the Bhavan. Often he marked out the spot where it should be founded. Once at the request of the President from the Jail he made an offer for a college building for the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan relying upon his own courage to raise the necessary funds During his last days when speech was denied he expressed his determination that if he survived the illness he would see that a college was founded.

Bombay cannot keep alive the memory of so noble and selfless a philanthropist except by fulfilling his last wish of raising a college, associated with the Bhavan. An additional college for the City and Suburbs is an absolute necessity as the existing colleges are not enough to meet the demand. And a college with the background of *Bharatiya Vidya* for which the Bhavan stands will add a refreshing feature to the educational life of the City and Suburbs.

A well-equipped College will cost about Rs. 8 lakhs. i.e., 4 lakhs for the building, 1 lakh for equipment and 3 lakhs for hostels etc

We appeal to everyone interested in education and *Bharatiya Vidya* to help the Bhavan in raising this fund.

Over two lakhs were subscribed in response to the appeal. In addition, the Bhavan's resources in land, equipment etc. will also be available to the College.